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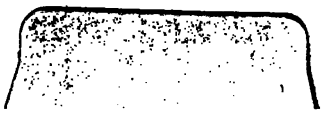

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Volume XI.

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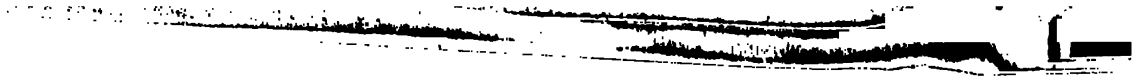

AN ABSTRACT

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF IT BY JULIUS CAESAR

TO THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.

NOTE.

THE Abstract of the History of England here reprinted calls for little or no comment. It is but a dry relation of events with no touch in the recital of any of those qualities which characterize Swift's writings. The facts were evidently obtained from the old chroniclers. What object Swift had in writing this Abstract is not known. If the dedication to the Count de Gyllenborg truly states his intention, it must be confessed that the "foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country" had not much upon which to congratulate themselves. Why Swift should have chosen the Count de Gyllenborg to whom to address the dedication must also remain a matter for conjecture. The Count had been sent out of the British Isles for instigating a conspiracy for a Jacobite insurrection in Great Britain. Swift wrote his dedication three years after the Count's expulsion. Knowing that the Count's master, Charles XII. of Sweden, had been a party to the plot, he yet writes in a most amiable tone of friendliness towards both, with a parenthetical sneer at "his present Britannic Majesty." Undoubtedly this dedication might easily and fairly be taken as strong presumptive evidence of a leaning on Swift's part towards the Pretender. It will, however, be more truly interpreted, if it be considered as an expression of contempt for the King of England and the ministry in power.

The text of the present reprint is that given by Deane Swift from his edition of his kinsman's works issued in 1765 and 1768 (4to edit., vols. viii. and xiii.). Deane Swift thought that the narratives of Rufus, Henry I. and Stephen, would "appear to be such a model of English history, as will make all men of taste, and especially foreigners, regret that he pursued his plan no further."

[T. S.]

TO THE

COUNT DE GYLLENBORG.[1]

Dublin in Ireland, Nov. 2, 1719.

SIR,

IT is now about sixteen years since I first entertained the design of writing a History of England, from the beginning of William Rufus to the end of Queen Elizabeth; such a History, I mean, as appears to be most wanted by foreigners, and gentlemen of our own country; not a voluminous work, nor properly an abridgement, but an exact relation of the most important affairs and events, without any regard to the rest. My intention was to inscribe it to the King[2] your late master, for whose great virtues I had ever the highest veneration, as I shall continue to bear to his memory. I confess it is with some disdain that I observe great authors descending to write any dedications at all: and for my own part, when I looked round on all the princes of Europe, I could think of none who might deserve that distinction from me, besides the King your master; (for I say nothing of his present Britannic Majesty, to whose person and character I am an utter stranger, and like to continue so) neither can I be suspected of flattery on this point, since it was some years after that I had the honour of an invitation to his court, before you were employed as his minister in England, which I heartily repent that I did not accept; whereby, as you can be my witness, I might have avoided some years' uneasiness and vexation, during the last

[1] Charles, Count Gyllenborg (1679-1746), was Swedish Ambassador at London 1710-16. He then joined in a Jacobite plot, was arrested in January, 171⅘, and expelled the kingdom in August, 1717. He afterwards filled high offices in his own country. [W. S. J.]

[2] Charles XII., King of Sweden, who was killed in 1718. [D. S.]

S H C

four years of our late excellent Queen, as well as a long melancholy prospect since, in a most obscure disagreeable country, and among a most profligate and abandoned people.

I was diverted from pursuing this History, partly by the extreme difficulty, but chiefly by the indignation I conceived at the proceedings of a faction, which then prevailed; and the papers lay neglected in my cabinet until you saw me in England; when you know how far I was engaged in thoughts and business of another kind. Upon Her Majesty's lamented death, I returned to my station in this kingdom; since which time there is not a northern curate among you who hath lived more obscure than myself, or a greater stranger to the commonest transactions of the world. It is but very lately that I found the following papers, which I had almost forgotten. I publish them now, for two reasons; first, for an encouragement to those who have more youth,[1] and leisure, and good temper than I, towards pursuing the work as far as it was intended by me, or as much further as they please; the second reason is, to have an opportunity of declaring the profound respect I have for the memory of your royal master, and the sincere regard and friendship I bear to yourself; for I must bring to your mind how proud I was to distinguish you among all the foreign ministers, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. I am a witness of the zeal you shewed not only for the honour and interest of your master, but for the advantage of the Protestant religion in Germany, and how knowingly and feelingly you often spoke to me upon that subject. We all loved you, as possessed of every quality that could adorn an English gentleman, and esteemed you as a faithful subject to your prince, and an able negotiator; neither shall any reverse of fortune have power to lessen you either in my friendship or esteem: and I must take leave to assure you further, that my affection towards persons hath not been at all diminished by the frown of power upon them. Those whom you and I once thought great and good men, continue still so in my eyes and my heart; only with a * * * * * *

Caetera desiderantur.

[1] The author was then in his fifty-second year. [D. S.]

AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE INVASION OF IT BY JULIUS CAESAR TO WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE most ancient account we have of Britain is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the Britons were painted with a sky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were heathens, as all the world was before Christ, except the Jews. Britons. Heathens.

Their priests were called Druids: These lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost. Druids.

The Britons had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society, and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before Christ, Julius Caesar, the first Roman Emperor, having conquered Gaul or France, invaded Britain rather to increase his glory than conquests; for having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of Britain by the Romans (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; but it was not wholly subdued till that of Nero. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from Rome, as Ireland Claudius. Nero.

is now by deputies from England; and continued thus under the Romans for about 460 years; till that empire being invaded by the Goths and Vandals, the Romans were forced not only to recall their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the Britons, for their assistance against those barbarians.

The Roman conquests in this island reached no further northward than to that part of Scotland where Stirling and Glasgow are seated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called Caledonians and Picts; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the British borders. Therefore the Emperor Severus built a wall, from Stirling to Glasgow, to prevent the invasions of the Picts: It is commonly called the Picts' Wall.

Picts.

Picts' Wall.

These Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, encouraged by the departure of the Romans, do now cruelly infest and invade the Britons by sea and land: The Britons choose Vortigern for their king, who was forced to invite the Saxons (a fierce Northern people) to assist him against those barbarians. The Saxons came over, and beat the Picts in several battles; but, at last, pick quarrels with the Britons themselves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and establish themselves in seven kingdoms in Britain, (by them now called England). These seven kingdoms are usually styled the Saxon Heptarchy.

A.D. 455. Saxons.

About this time lived King Arthur (if the whole story be not a fable) who was so famous for beating the Saxons in several battles.

A.D. 460. Arthur.

The Britons received Christianity very early, and, as is reported, from some of the Disciples themselves: So that, when the Romans left Britain, the Britons were generally Christians. But the Saxons were heathens, till Pope Gregory the Great sent over hither Austin the monk, by whom Ethelbert king of the South-Saxons, and his subjects, were converted to Christianity; and the whole island soon followed the example.

A.D. 600. Austin.

After many various revolutions in this island among the kingdoms of the Saxons, Egbert, de-

A.D. 819. Egbert.

scended from the West-Saxon kings, became sole monarch[1] of England.

The language in Britain was British, (now called Welsh) or Latin; but, with the Saxons, English came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The present names of towns, shires, &c. were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called England from the Angles, who were a branch of the Saxons. Angles.

As soon as the Saxons were settled, the Danes began to trouble and invade them, as they (the Saxons) had before done the Britons. Danes.

These Danes came out of Germany, Denmark, and Norway, a rough warlike people, little different from the Saxons, to whom they were nigh neighbours.

After many invasions from the Danes, Edgar King of England sets forth the first navy. He was entitled King of all Albion, (an old name of this island) and was the first absolute monarch. Edgar.

He made peace with the Danes, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixed with the English.

In this prince's time there were five kings in Wales, who all did him homage for their country.

These Danes began first to make their invasions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at several times, and under several leaders, and were as often repulsed. They used to come with vast numbers of ships, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of London, Winchester, &c. Encouraged by success and prey, they often wintered in England, fortifying themselves in the northern parts, from whence they cruelly infested the Saxon kings. In process of time they mixed with the English (as was said before) and lived under the Saxon government: But Ethelred, then King of England, growing weary of the Danish insolence, a conspiracy is formed, and the Danes are massacred in one day all over England. A.D. 978. Danes massacred.

Four years after, Sweyn, King of Denmark, to revenge the death of his subjects, invades England; and, after battles fought and much cruelty exercised, Sweyn.

[1] The edition of 1765 gives the date as 819, but according to Dr. Stubbs, Egbert became *bretwalda* in 828. [W. S. J.]

he subdues the whole kingdom, forcing Ethelred to fly into Normandy.

Canutus. Sweyn dying, his son Canutus succeeds in the kingdom; but Ethelred returning with an army, Canutus is forced to withdraw to Denmark for succour.

Ethelred dies, and his son Edmond Ironside succeeds; but, Canutus returning with fresh forces from Denmark, after several battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. Edmond dying, his sons are sent beyond sea by Canutus, who now is sole King of England.

Hardicanute, the last Danish king, dying without issue, Edward, son of Ethelred, is chosen king. For his great holiness, he was surnamed the Confessor, and King's evil. sainted after his death. He was the first of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He first introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the English gentry, of using the French tongue and fashions, in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in Normandy.

The Danish government in England lasted but twenty-six years, under three kings.

Edward the Confessor married the daughter of Earl Godwin, an English nobleman of great power, but of Danish extraction; but, wanting issue, he appointed Edgar Atheling, grandson to his brother, to succeed him, Harold. and Harold, son of Earl Godwin, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon Edward's death, Harold neglected Edgar Atheling, and usurped the crown for himself.

Edward, while he was in Normandy, met so good reception, that it was said he made a promise to that duke, that, in case he recovered his kingdom, and died without issue, he would leave it to him. Edward dying, William Duke of Normandy sends to Harold to claim the crown; but Harold, now in possession, resolves to keep it. Upon which Duke William, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades England, lands at Hastings, and sets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To Harold he sent his messenger, demanding the kingdom and his subjection:

But Harold returned him this answer, "That, unless he departed his land, he would make him sensible of his just displeasure." So Harold advanced his forces into Sussex, within seven miles of his enemy. The Norman Duke, to save the effusion of blood, sent these offers to Harold; either wholly to resign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in single combat. To this Harold did not agree.

Then the battle joined. The Normans had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement Harold was killed, and William Duke of Normandy became King of England, under the name of William the Conqueror. A.D. 1066.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE SECOND,

SURNAMED RUFUS.

AT the time of the Conqueror's death, his eldest son Robert, upon some discontent with his father, being absent in France,[1] William, the second son, made use of this juncture, and without attending his father's funeral, hastened to England, where, pursuant to the will of the deceased prince,[2] the nobility, although more inclined to favour Robert, were prevailed with to admit him King, partly by his promises to abate the rigour of the late reign, and restore the laws and liberties which had been then abolished, but chiefly by the credit and solicitations of Lanfranc; for that prelate had formerly a share in his education, and always a great affection for his person. At Winchester he took possession of his father's treasure,[3] in obedience to whose command, as well as to ingratiate himself with the people, he distributed it among churches and religious houses, and applied it to the redeeming of prisoners, and other acts of popularity.

In the mean time Robert returned to Normandy, took possession of that duchy, with great applause and content of his people, and, spited at the indignity done him by his father, and the usurpation of his brother in consequence thereof, prepared a great fleet and army to invade England; nor did there want an occasion to promote his interest,

[1] He was then at Abbeville in Picardy. [D. S.]

[2] William the Conqueror left Normandy to his son Robert; but said of England: "So it pleased God, he should be glad that William, his obedient and best beloved son, should enjoy it after his death." [D. S.]

[3] Which was sixty thousand pounds in silver, besides gold, jewels, and plate.—BROMPTON. [D. S.]

if the slowness, the softness, and credulity of his nature, could have suffered him to make a right improvement of it.

Odo Bishop of Bayeux,[1] of whom frequent mention is made in the preceding reign,[2] a prelate of incurable ambition, either on account of his age or character being restored to his liberty and possessions in England, grew into envy and discontent, upon seeing Lanfranc preferred before him by the new King in his favour and ministry. He therefore formed a conspiracy with several nobles of Norman birth to depose the King, and sent an invitation to Robert to hasten over. Mean time the conspirators, in order to distract the King's forces, seized on several parts of England at once; Bristol, Norwich, Leicester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Durham, were secured by several noblemen: Odo himself seized Rochester, reduced the coasts of Kent, and sent messages to Robert to make all possible speed.

The King alarmed at these many and sudden defections, thought it his best course to begin his defence by securing the good will of the people. He redressed many grievances, eased them of certain oppressive taxes and tributes, gave liberty to hunt in his forest, with other marks of indulgence, which however forced from him by the necessity of the time, he had the skill or fortune so to order as they neither lost their good grace nor effect; for immediately after he raised great forces both by land and sea, marched into Kent, where the chief body of his enemies was in arms, recovered Tunbridge and Pevensey, in the latter of which Odo himself was taken prisoner, and forced to accompany the King to Rochester. This city refusing to surrender at the King's summons, Odo undertook to prevail with the obstinacy of the inhabitants; but being admitted into the town, was there detained, either by a real or seeming force; however, the King provoked at their stubbornness and fraud, soon compelled them to yield, retook his prisoner, and forcing him for ever to abjure England, sent him into Normandy.

[1] Odo was half brother to William the Conqueror. [D. S.]

[2] Sir W. Temple wrote "An Introduction to the History of England." As it only extended to the death of William the Conqueror it is probable that it is what is here referred to. It will be found in vol. ii. of Sir W. Temple's "Works," edited by Swift. [W. S. J.]

By these actions, performed with such great celerity and success, the preparations of Duke Robert were wholly disappointed, himself, by the necessity of his affairs, compelled to a treaty with his brother, upon the terms of a small pension, and a mutual promise of succeeding to each other's dominions on failure of issue, forced to resign his pretensions, and return with a shattered fleet to Normandy.

About this time died Archbishop Lanfranc; by whose death the King, loosed from that awe and constraint he was under, soon began to discover those irregularities of his nature, which till then he had suppressed and disguised, falling into those acts of oppression and extortion that have made his name and memory infamous. He kept the see of Canterbury four years vacant, and converted the revenues to his own use, together with those of several other bishoprics and abbeys, and disposed all church preferments to the highest bidder. Nor were his exactions less upon the laity, from whom he continually extorted exorbitant fines for pretended transgression of certain penal laws, and entertained informers to observe men's actions and bring him intelligence.

It is here worth observation, that these corrupt proceedings of the prince have, in the opinion of several learned men, given rise to two customs, which are a long time grown to have the force of laws. For, first the successors of this King, continuing the custom of seizing on the accruing rents in the vacancy of sees and abbeys, it grew in process of time to be exacted as a right, or acknowledgment to the King as founder; whence the revenues of vacant bishoprics belong at this day to the crown. The second custom had an original not unlike. Several persons, to avoid the persecutions of the King's informers, and other instruments of oppression, withdrew themselves and their effects to foreign countries; upon which the King issued a proclamation, forbidding all men to leave the kingdom without his licence; from whence, in the judgment of the same authors, the writ *ne exeat regno* had its beginning.

By these and the like arbitrary methods having amassed great treasures, and finding all things quiet at home, he raised a powerful army to invade his brother in Normandy; but upon what ground or pretext, the writers of that age

are not very exact; whether it were from a principle frequent among unjust princes, That old oppressions are best justified by new; or, whether having a talent for sudden enterprises, and justly apprehending the resentments of Duke Robert, he thought it the wiser course to prevent injuries than to revenge them. In this expedition he took several cities and castles from his brother, and would have proceeded further, if Robert had not desired and obtained the assistance of Philip King of France, who came with an army to his relief. King William not thinking it safe or prudent to proceed further against his enemy supported by so great an ally, yet loth to lose the fruits of his time and valour, fell upon a known and old expedient, which no prince ever practised oftener, or with greater success, and that was, to buy off the French King with a sum of money. This had its effect; for that prince not able to oppose such powerful arms, immediately withdrew himself and his forces, leaving the two brothers to concert the measures of a peace.

This was treated and agreed with great advantages on the side of King William; for he kept all the towns he had taken, obliged his brother to banish Edgar Atheling out of Normandy, and, for a further security, brought over with him to England the Duke himself to attend him in his expedition against Malcolm King of Scotland, who during his absence had invaded the borders. The King having raised great forces both by sea and land, went in person to repel the inroads of the Scots: but the enterprise was without success; for the greatest part of his fleet was destroyed by a tempest, and his army very much diminished by sickness and famine, which forced him to a peace of little honour; by which, upon the condition of homage from that prince, the King of England agreed to deliver him up those twelve towns (or manors) in England which Malcolm had held under William the Conqueror; together with a pension of twelve thousand marks.

At this time were sown the seeds of another quarrel between him and Duke Robert, who soliciting the King to perform some covenants of the last peace, and meeting with a repulse, withdrew in great discontent to Normandy.

King William, in his return from Scotland, fell dangerously sick at Gloucester, where, moved by the seasonable

exhortations of his clergy, or rather by the fears of dying, he began to discover great marks of repentance, with many promises of amendment and retribution, particularly for his injuries to the Church. To give credit to which good resolutions, he immediately filled several vacant sees, giving that of Canterbury to Anselm, a foreigner of great fame for piety and learning. But as it is the disposition of men who derive their vices from their complexions, that their passions usually beat strong and weak with their pulses, so it fared with this prince, who upon recovery of his health soon forgot the vows he had made in his sickness, relapsing with greater violence into the same irregularities of injustice and oppression, whereof Anselm, the new archbishop, felt the first effects. This prelate, soon after his promotion, offered the King a sum of money by way of present; but took care it should be so small, that none might interpret it to be a consideration of his late preferment. The King rejected it with scorn; and as he used but little ceremony in such matters, insisted in plain terms for more. Anselm would not comply; and the King enraged, sought all occasions to make him uneasy; until at length the poor archbishop, tired out with perpetual usurpations (or at least what was then understood to be such) upon his jurisdiction, privileges, and possessions, desired the King licence for a journey to Rome; and upon a refusal, went without it. As soon as he was withdrawn, the King seized on all his revenues, converting them to his own use, and the archbishop continued an exile until the succeeding reign.

The particulars of this quarrel between the King and archbishop are not, in my opinion, considerable enough to deserve a place in this brief collection, being of little use to posterity, and of less entertainment; neither should I have mentioned it at all, but for the occasion it gives me of making a general observation, which may afford some light into the nature and disposition of those ages. Not only this King's father and himself, but the princes for several successions, of the fairest character, have been severely taxed for violating the rights of the clergy, and perhaps not altogether without reason. It is true, this character hath made the lighter impression, as proceeding altogether from the party injured, the cotemporary writers being generally

churchmen: and it must be confessed, that the usurpations of the Church and court of Rome were in those ages risen to such heights, as to be altogether inconsistent either with the legislature or administration of any independent state; the inferior clergy, both secular and regular, insisting upon such immunities as wholly exempted them from the civil power; and the bishops removing all controversies with the crown by appeal to Rome: for they reduced the matter to this short issue, That God was to be obeyed rather than men; and consequently the Bishop of Rome, who is Christ's representative, rather than an earthly prince. Neither doth it seem improbable that all Christendom would have been in utter vassalage, both temporal and spiritual, to the Roman see, if the Reformation had not put a stop to those exorbitancies, and in a good measure opened the eyes even of those princes and states who still adhere to the doctrines and discipline of that church.

While the King continued at Gloucester, Malcolm King of Scotland came to his court, with intentions to settle and confirm the late peace between them. It happened that a controversy arose about some circumstances relating to the homage which Malcolm was to pay, in the managing whereof King William discovered so much haughtiness and disdain, both in words and gestures, that the Scottish prince, provoked by such unworthy treatment, returned home with indignation; but soon came back at the head of a powerful army, and, entering Northumberland with fire and sword, laid all waste before him. But as all enterprises have in the progress of them a tincture of those passions by which they were spirited at first, so this invasion begun upon private revenge, which is a blind ungovernable passion, was carried on with equal precipitation, and proved to be ruinous in the event; for Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, to prevent the destruction of his own country, where he had great possessions, gathering what forces he could suddenly raise, and without waiting any directions from the King, marched against the Scots, who were then set down before Alnwick Castle: there, by an ambush, Malcolm and his eldest son Edward were slain, and the army, discouraged by the loss of their princes, entirely defeated. This disaster was followed in a few days by the death of Queen Margaret,

who, not able to survive her misfortunes, died for grief. Neither did the miseries of that kingdom end till, after two usurpations, the surviving son of Malcolm, who had fled to England for refuge, was restored to his crown by the assistance of King William.

About this time the hidden sparks of animosity between the two brothers, buried but not extinguished in the last peace, began to flame out into new dissensions: Duke Robert had often sent his complaints to the King for breach of articles, but without redress, which provoked him to expostulate in a rougher manner, till at length he charged the King in plain terms with injustice and perjury: but no men are found to endure reproaches with less temper than those who most deserve them: the King, at the same time filled with indignation, and stung with guilt, invaded Normandy a second time, resolving to reduce his brother to such terms as might stop all further complaints. He had already taken several strong holds, by force either of arms or of money, and intending entirely to subdue the duchy, gave orders to have twenty thousand men immediately raised in England, and sent over to him. The Duke, to defend himself against these formidable preparations, had recourse again to his old ally the King of France, who very readily advanced with an army to his assistance, as an action wherein he could every way find his own accounts; for, beside the appearance of glory and justice by protecting the injured, he fought indeed his own battle, by preserving his neighbouring state in the hands of a peaceful prince, from so powerful and restless an enemy as the King of England; and was largely paid for his trouble into the bargain: for King William, either loth to engage in a long and dangerous war, or hastened back by intelligence of some troubles from Wales, sent offers to his army, just ready to embark for Normandy, that upon payment of ten shillings a man they might have leave to return to their own homes.[1] This bargain was generally accepted; the money was paid to the King of France, who immediately withdrew his troops; and King William, now master of the conditions, forced his brother to a peace upon much harder terms than before.

[1] See reference to this incident in "The Examiner," No. 21 (vol. ix. of this edition, p. 123). [W. S. J.]

In this passage there are some circumstances which may appear odd and unaccountable to those who will not give due allowance for the difference of times and manners: that an absent prince, engaged in an unjust war with his own brother, and ill-beloved at home, should have so much power and credit, as by his commission to raise twenty thousand men on a sudden, only as a recruit to the army he had already with him; that he should have a fleet prepared ready, and large enough to transport so great a number; that upon the very point of embarking he should send them so disgraceful an offer; and that so great a number of common soldiers should be able and willing to pay such a sum of money, equal to at least twelve time as much in our times; and that, after being thus deluded and spoiled at once, they should peaceably disband and retire to their several homes. But all this will be less difficult to comprehend, when we reflect on the method of raising and supporting armies, very different from ours, which was then in use, and so continued for many ages after. All men who had lands *in capite* were bound to attend the King in his wars with a proportioned number of soldiers, who were their tenants on easy rents in consideration of military service. This was but the work of a few days, and the troops consisted of such men as were able to maintain their own charges either at home or abroad: neither was there any reason to apprehend that soldiers would ever become instruments for introducing slavery, who held so great a share in the property.

The King, upon his return from Normandy, made an unsuccessful expedition against the Welsh, who upon the advantages of his absence had, according to their usual custom, made cruel inroads upon the adjoining counties of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford. Upon the King's approach they fled into their fastnesses among the mountains, where he pursued them for some time with great rage and vexation, as well as the loss of great numbers of his men, to no purpose. From hence he was recalled by a more formidable enemy nearer home: for Robert Earl of Northumberland, overrating his late services against the Scots, as much perhaps and as unjustly as they were undervalued by the King, refused to come to his court, which, in those days, was looked on as the first usual mark of discontent in a nobleman; and

was often charged by princes as a formal accusation. The earl having disobeyed the King's summons, and concerted matters with other accomplices, broke out into open rebellion, with intentions to depose King William, and set up Stephen Earl of Albemarle, son of a sister to William the Conqueror: but all was prevented by the celerity of this active prince; who, knowing that insurrections are best quelled in their beginnings, marched with incredible speed, and surprised the rebels at Newcastle, took the castles of Tynemouth and Bamburgh; where the obstinacy of the defendants provoked him, contrary to his nature, to commit cruelties upon their persons, by cutting off their hands and ears, and other the like inhumanities. The earl himself was taken prisoner as he endeavoured to make his escape; but suffered no other punishment than to be confined for the rest of his life.[1]

About this time began the Holy War for recovering of Palestine; which having not been the enterprise of any one prince or state, but that wherein most in Christendom had a share, it cannot with justice be silently passed over in the history of any nation.

Pope Urban the Second, in a council at Clermont, made a pathetic exhortation, shewing with what danger and indignity to Christendom the Turks and Saracens had, for some ages, not only overrun all Asia and Africa, where Christianity had long flourished; but had also made encroachments into Europe, where they had entirely subdued Spain, and some other parts; that Jerusalem, the holy city, where our Saviour did so many miracles, and where His sepulchre still remained, to the scandal of the Christian name, lay groaning under the tyranny of infidels; that the swords which Christian princes had drawn against each other, ought to be turned against the common enemy of their name and religion; that this should be reckoned an ample satisfaction for all their past sins; that those who died in this expedition should immediately go to Heaven, and the survivors would be blessed with the sight of our Lord's sepulchre.

Moved by these arguments, and the influence of the person who delivered them, several nobles and prelates immediately took upon them the cross; and the council dis-

[1] Which was thirty years. [D. S.]

solving in this high fit of zeal, the clergy, upon their return home, prevailed so far in their several countries, that in most parts of Europe some great prince or lord became a votary for the Holy Land; as Hugh the Great, brother to the King of France; Godfrey Duke of Lorraine; Reimond Count of Toulouse; Robert Duke of Normandy, and many others. Neither ought it to be forgotten, that most of these noble and generous princes, wanting money to maintain the forces they had raised, pawned their dominions to those very prelates who had first engaged them in this enterprise: doubtless a notable mark of the force of oratory in the churchmen of those ages, who were able to inspire that devotion into others, whereof they seemed so little sensible themselves.

But a great share in the honour of promoting this religious war, is attributed to the zeal and industry of a certain French priest, commonly called Peter the Hermit; who being at Jerusalem upon pilgrimage some time before, and entering often into private treaty with the patriarch of that city, came back fully instructed in all the measures necessary for such a war: to these was joined the artifice of certain dreams and visions that might pass for divine admonition: all which, added to the piety of his exhortations, gave him such credit with the Pope, and several princes of Christendom, that he became in his own person the leader of a great army against the infidels, and was very instrumental for engaging many others in the same design.

What a spirit was thus raised in Christendom among all sorts of men, cannot better be conceived than from the vast numbers of these warlike pilgrims; who, at the siege of Nice, are said to have consisted of 600,000 foot, and 100,000 horse: and the success at first was answerable to the greatness of their numbers, the valour of their leaders, and the universal opinion of such a cause; for, besides several famous victories in the field, not to mention the towns of less importance, they took Nice, Antioch, and at last Jerusalem, where Duke Godfrey was chosen king without competition. But zeal, with a mixture of enthusiasm, as I take this to have been, is a composition only fit for sudden enterprises, like a great ferment in the blood, giving double courage and strength for the time, until it sink and settle by nature into

its old channel: for, in a few years the piety of these adventurers began to slacken, and give way to faction and envy, the natural corruptions of all confederacies: however, to this spirit of devotion there succeeded a spirit of honour, which long continued the vein and humour of the times; and the Holy Land became either a school, wherein young princes went to learn the art of war, or a scene wherein they affected to shew their valour, and gain reputation, when they were weary of peace at home.

The Christians held possession of Jerusalem above eighty years,[1] and continued their expeditions to the Holy Land almost as many more, with various events; and after they were entirely driven out of Asia, the popes have almost in every age endeavoured in vain to promote new crusadoes; neither does this spirit seem quite extinct among us even to this day; the usual projects of sanguine men for uniting Christendom against the Turk, being without doubt a traditional way of talk derived to us from the same fountain.

Robert, in order to furnish himself out for this war, pawned his duchy to the King for 10,000 marks of gold;[2] which sum was levied with so many circumstances of rigour and exaction, towards the Church and laity, as very much increased the discontents of both against the prince.

1099. I shall record one act of this king's, which being chiefly personal, may pass rather for a part of his character, than a point of history.

As he was hunting one day in the New Forest, a messenger express from Normandy, brought him intelligence, that Hélie, Count de la Flèche, had laid close siege to Mans, and expected to carry the town in a few days; the King leaving his chase, commanded some about him to point whereabout Mans lay; and so rode straight on without reflection, until he came to the coast. His attendants advised him to wait until he had made preparations of men and money; to which he only returned; "They that love me, will follow me." He entered the ship in a violent storm; which the mariners beholding with astonishment, at length in great humility gave him warning of the danger; but the King

[1] They held it eighty-eight years; from July, 1099, to October, 1187. [D. S.]

[2] Equal to £1,400,000, as money passes now. [D. S.]

commanded them instantly to put off to sea, and not be afraid; for he had never in his life heard of any King that was drowned. In a few days he drove the enemy from before the city, and took the count himself prisoner, who raging at his defeat and captivity, exclaimed,[1] "That this blow was from Fortune; but Valour could make reprisals, as he should shew, if ever he regained his liberty." This being told the King, he sent for the count, let him understand that he had heard of his menaces, then gave him a fine horse, bid him begone immediately, and defied him to do his worst.

It would have been an injury to this prince's memory, to let pass an action, by which he acquired more honour than from any other in his life, and by which it appeared that he was not without some seeds of magnanimity, had they been better cultivated, or not overrun by the number or prevalency of his vices.

I have met with nothing else in this King's reign that deserved to be remembered; for, as to an unsuccessful expedition or two against Wales, either by himself or his generals; they were very inconsiderable both in action and event, nor attended with any circumstances that might render a relation of them of any use to posterity, either for instruction or example.

His death was violent and unexpected, the effect of casualty; although this perhaps is the only misfortune of life to which the person of a prince is generally less subject than that of other men. Being at his beloved exercise of hunting in the New Forest in Hampshire, a large stag

[1] There is so much pleasantry and humour, as well as spirit and heroism in this story, as we have it recorded by William de Malmesbury, who represents the menace as thrown out in the King's presence, that I shall make no apology for setting down his words at length. "Auctor turbarum Helias capitur; cui ante se adducto rex ludibundus, 'Habeo te, magister,' inquit. At ille, cujus alta nobilitas nesciret in tanto etiam periculo sapere; 'Fortuitu,' inquit, 'me cepisti: sed si possem evadere, novi quid facerem.' Tum Willelmus, prae furore ferè extra se positus, et obuncans Heliam, 'Tu,' inquit, 'nebulo! tu, quid faceres? Discede; abi; fuge! Concedo tibi ut facias quicquid poteris: et, per vultum de Luca! nihil, si me viceris, pro hâc veniâ tecum paciscar.'" *I.e.* By the face of St. Luke, if thou shouldst have the fortune to conquer me, I scorn to compound with thee for my release. [D. S.]

crossed the way before him, the King hot on his game, cried out in haste to Walter Tyrrel, a knight of his attendants, to shoot; Tyrrel, immediately let fly his arrow, which glancing against a tree, struck the King through the heart, who fell dead to the ground without speaking a word. Upon the surprise of this accident, all his attendants, and Tyrrel[1] among the rest, fled different ways; until the fright being a little over, some of them returned, and causing the body to be laid in a collier's cart, for want of other conveniency, conveyed it in a very unbecoming contemptuous manner to Winchester, where it was buried the next day without solemnity, and which is worse, without grief.

I shall conclude the history of this prince's reign, with a description and character of his body and mind, impartially from the collections I have made; which method I shall observe likewise in all the succeeding reigns.

He was in stature somewhat below the usual size, and big-bellied, but he was well and strongly knit. His hair was yellow or sandy; his face red, which got him the name of Rufus; his forehead flat; his eyes were spotted, and appeared of different colours; he was apt to stutter in speaking, especially when he was angry; he was vigorous and active, and very hardy to endure fatigues, which he owed to a good constitution of health, and the frequent exercise of hunting; in his dress he affected gaiety and expense, which having been first introduced by this prince into his court and kingdom, grew, in succeeding reigns, an intolerable grievance. He also first brought in among us the luxury and profusion of great tables. There was in him, as in all other men, a mixture of virtues and vices, and that in a pretty equal degree, only the misfortune was, that the latter, although not more numerous, were yet much more prevalent than the former. For being entirely a man of pleasure, this made him sacrifice all his good qualities, and gave him too many occasions of producing his ill ones. He had one very singular virtue for a prince, which was that of being true to his word and promise: he was of undoubted personal valour, whereof the writers in those ages produce several instances; nor did he want skill and conduct in the

[1] Yet Eadmer saith, that Tyrrel told him, he had not been in the Forest that day. [D. S.]

process of war. But, his peculiar excellency, was that of great dispatch, which, however usually decried, and allowed to be only a happy temerity, does often answer all the ends of secrecy and counsel in a great commander, by surprising and daunting an enemy when he least expects it; as may appear by the greatest actions and events upon the records of every nation.

He was a man of sound natural sense, as well as of wit and humour, upon occasion. There were several tenets in the Romish Church he could not digest; particularly that of the saints' intercession; and living in an age overrun with superstition, he went so far into the other extreme, as to be censured for an atheist. The day before his death, a monk relating a terrible dream, which seemed to forebode him some misfortune, the King being told the matter, turned it into a jest; said, "The man was a monk, and dreamt like a monk, for lucre sake;" and therefore commanded Fitzhamon to give him an hundred shillings, that he might not complain he had dreamt to no purpose.

His vices appear to have been rather derived from the temper of his body, than any original depravity of his mind; for being of a sanguine complexion, wholly bent upon his pleasures, and prodigal in his nature, he became engaged in great expenses. To supply these, the people were perpetually oppressed with illegal taxes and exactions; but that sort of avarice which arises from prodigality and vice, as it is always needy, so it is much more ravenous and violent than the other, which put the King and his evil instruments (among whom Ralph, Bishop of Durham, is of special infamy) upon those pernicious methods of gratifying his extravagances by all manner of oppression; whereof some are already mentioned, and others are too foul to relate.

He is generally taxed by writers for discovering a contempt of religion in his common discourse and behaviour; which I take to have risen from the same fountain, being a point of art, and a known expedient, for men who cannot quit their immoralities, at least to banish all reflections that may disturb them in the enjoyment, which must be done either by not thinking of religion at all; or, if it will obtrude, by putting it out of countenance.

Yet there is one instance that might shew him to have

some sense of religion as well as justice. When two monks were outvying each other in canting[1] the price of an abbey, he observed a third at some distance, who said never a word; the King demanded why he would not offer; the monk said, he was poor, and besides, would give nothing if he were ever so rich; the King replied, "Then you are the fittest person to have it," and immediately gave it him. But this is, perhaps with reason enough, assigned more to caprice than conscience; for he was under the power of every humour and passion that possessed him for the present; which made him obstinate in his resolves, and unsteady in the prosecution.

He had one vice or folly that seemed rooted in his mind, and of all others, most unbefitting a prince: This was, a proud disdainful manner, both in his words and gesture; and having already lost the love of his subjects by his avarice and oppression, this finished the work, by bringing him into contempt and hatred among his servants; so that few among the worst of princes have had the luck to be so ill beloved, or so little lamented.

He never married, having an invincible abhorrence for the state, although not for the sex.

He died in the thirteenth year of his reign, the forty-third of his age, and of Christ 1100, August 2.

His works of piety were few, but in buildings he was very expensive, exceeding any King of England before or since, among which Westminster Hall, Windsor Castle, the Tower of London, and the whole city of Carlisle, remain lasting monuments of his magnificence.

[1] An Irish phrase for selling or buying by auction. It is somewhat remarkable that so severe a critic should have used such a word in historical composition. [S.]

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIRST.

THIS prince was the youngest son of William the Conqueror, and bred to more learning than was usual in that age, or to his rank, which got him the surname of Beauclerk; the reputation whereof, together with his being born in England, and born son of a king, although of little weight in themselves, did very much strengthen his pretensions with the people. Besides, he had the same advantage of his brother Robert's absence, which had proved before so successful to Rufus, whose treasures he likewise seized on immediately at his death, after the same manner, and for the same end, as Rufus did those of his father the Conqueror. Robert had been now five years absent in the Holy War, where he acquitted himself with great glory; and although he was now in Apulia, upon his return homeward, yet the nobles pretending not to know what was become of him, and others giving out that he had been elected King of Jerusalem, Henry laid hold of the occasion, and calling together an assembly of the clergy, nobles, and people of the realm at London, upon his promises to restore King Edward's laws, and redress the grievances which had been introduced by his father and brother, they consented to elect him king. Immediately after his coronation, he proceeded upon reforming the abuses of the late reign: he banished dissolute persons from the court, who had long infested it under the protection and example of Rufus: he restored the people to the use of lights in the night, which the Conqueror had forbidden, after a certain hour, by the ringing of a bell. Then he published his charter, and ordered a copy thereof to be taken for every county in England. This charter was in substance; The freedom of Mother Church from former oppressions; leave

to the heirs of nobles to succeed in the possession of their lands, without being obliged to redeem them, only paying to the king a moderate relief; abolition of fines for licence of marriage to their heiresses; a promise of not refusing such licence unless the match proposed be with the king's enemy,[1] &c.; the next of kin to be guardians of the lands of orphans; punishments for coiners of false money; a confirmation of St. Edward's laws; and a general amnesty.

About the same time he performed two acts of justice, which, by gratifying the revenge and the love of the people, gained very much upon their affections to his person: the first was, to imprison Ralph Bishop of Durham,[2] who having been raised by the late king from a mean and sordid birth to be his prime confidant and minister, became the chief instrument, as well as contriver, of all his oppressions: the second was, in recalling and restoring Archbishop Anselm, who having been forced by the continual persecutions of the same prince, to leave England, had lived ever since in banishment, and deprived of all his revenues.

The King had not been many months on his throne, when the news came that Duke Robert, returned from the Holy Land, was received by his subjects with great marks of joy and honour, and in universal reputation for his valour and success against the infidels: soon after which, Ralph Bishop of Durham, either by the negligence or corruption of his keepers, escaped out of prison, and fled over to the Duke; whom he stirred up to renew and solicit his pretensions to the crown of England, by writing to several nobles, who, either through old friendship, or new discontent, or an opinion of his title, gave him promises of their assistance, as soon as he should land in England: but the Duke having returned exceeding poor from the Holy Land, was not yet in a condition for such an undertaking, and therefore thought fit to defer it to a more seasonable opportunity.

[1] *I.e.* with a traitor or malcontent. [D. S.]

[2] Le Neve says that Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham, was imprisoned in the Tower, September, 1100, but escaped in February of the following year, and fled to Normandy ("Fasti," iii. 282-3). [W. S. J.]

As the King had hitherto, with great industry, sought all occasions to gratify his people, so he continued to do in the choice of a wife. This was Matilda, daughter of Malcolm the late King of Scots; a lady of great piety and virtue, who, by the power or persuasion of her friends, was prevailed with to leave her cloister for a crown, after she had, as some writers report, already taken the veil. Her mother was sister to Edgar Atheling, the last heir-male of the Saxon race; of whom frequent mention hath been made in the two preceding reigns: and thus the Saxon line, to the great contentment of the English nation, was again restored.

Duke Robert, having now with much difficulty and oppression of his subjects, raised great forces, and gotten ready a fleet to convey them, resolved once more to assert his title to the crown of England: to which end he had for some time held a secret correspondence with several nobles, and lately received fresh invitations. The King, on the other side, who had received timely intelligence of his brother's preparations, gave orders to his admirals to watch the sea-ports, and endeavour to hinder the enemy's landing: but the commanders of several ships, whether Robert had won them by his bribes, or his promises, instead of offering resistance, became his guides, and brought his fleet safe into Portsmouth, where he landed his men, and from thence marched to Winchester, his army hourly increasing by great numbers of people, who had either an affection for his person, an opinion of his title, or a hatred to the King. In the mean time Henry advanced with his forces, to be near the Duke, and observe his motions; but, like a wise general, forbore offering battle to an invader, until he might do it with manifest advantage. Besides, he knew very well that his brother was a person whose policy was much inferior to his valour, and therefore to be sooner overcome in a treaty than a fight: to this end, the nobles on both sides began to have frequent interviews; to make overtures; and at last concert the terms of a peace; but wholly to the advantage of the King, Robert renouncing his pretensions in consideration of a small pension, and of succeeding to the crown on default of male issue in his brother.

The defection of nobles and other people to the Duke

was so great, that men generally thought if it had come to a battle, the King would have lost both the victory and his crown. But Robert, upon his return to Normandy after this dishonourable peace, grew out of all reputation with the world, as well as into perfect hatred and contempt among his own subjects, which in a short time was the cause of his ruin.

The King having thus by his prudence got rid of a dangerous and troublesome rival, and soon after by his valour quelled the insurrections of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Mortaigne, whom he forced to fly into Normandy, found himself in full peace at home and abroad, and therefore thought he might venture a contention with the Church about the right of investing bishops; upon which subject many other princes at that time had controversy with their clergy: but, after long struggling in vain, were all forced to yield at last to the decree of a synod in Rome, and to the pertinacy of the bishops in the several countries. The form of investing a bishop, was by delivery of a ring and a pastoral staff; which, at Rome, was declared unlawful to be performed by any lay hand whatsoever; but the princes of Christendom pleaded immemorial custom to authorize them: and King Henry, having given the investiture to certain bishops, commanded Anselm to consecrate them. This the archbishop refused with great firmness, pursuant to what he understood to be his duty, and to several immediate commands of the Pope. Both sides adhering to their own sentiments, the matter was carried to Rome, where Anselm went in person, by the King's desire; who, at the same time, sent ambassadors thither to assert and defend his cause; but the Pope still insisting, Anselm was forbidden to return to England. The King seized on all his revenues, and would not restore him, until upon other concessions of the Pope, Henry was content to yield up his pretensions to the investiture; but, however, kept the right of electing still in his own hands.

Whatever might have been the method of electing bishops, in the more primitive ages, it seems plain to me that in these times, and somewhat before, although the election was made *per clerum et populum*, yet the king always nominated at first, or approved afterwards, and generally both, as may be seen by the style in which their elections ran, as

well as by the persons chosen, who were usually Churchmen of the court, or in some employment near the King. But whether this were a gradual encroachment of the regal upon the spiritual power, I had rather leave others to dispute.

About this time Duke Robert came to England, upon a visit to the King, where he was 1104.
received with much kindness and hospitality;
but, at the same time, the Queen had private directions to manage his easy temper, and work him to a consent of remitting his pension: this was compassed without much difficulty; but, upon the Duke's return to Normandy, he was severely reproved for his weakness by Ralph Bishop of Durham, and the two Earls of Mortaigne and Shrewsbury. These three having fled from England for rebellion, and other treasons, lived exiles in Normandy; and, bearing an inveterate hatred to the King, resolved to stir up the Duke to a resentment of the injury and fraud of his brother. Robert, who was various in his nature, and always under the power of the present persuader, easily yielded to their incitements: reproached the King in bitter terms, by letters and messages, that he had cozened and circumvented him; demanding satisfaction, and withal threatening revenge. At the same time, by the advice of the three nobles already mentioned, he began to arm himself as formidably as he could, with design to seize upon the King's possessions in Normandy: but as this resolution was rashly taken up, so it was as faintly pursued, and ended in his destruction: neither hath any prince reason to expect better fortune, that engages in a war against a powerful neighbour upon the counsel or instigation of exiles, who having no further view than to serve their private interest, or gratify their revenge, are sure to succeed in one or t'other, if they can embark princes in their quarrel, whom they fail not to incite by the falsest representations of their own strength, and the weakness of their enemy: for as the King was now settled in his throne too firm to be shaken, so Robert had wholly lost all credit and friendship in England; was sunk in reputation at home; and, by his unlimited profuseness, reduced so
low, that, having pawned most of his dominions, 1105.
he had offered Rouen, his capital city, in sale
to the inhabitants. All this was very well known to the

King, who, resolving to make his advantage thereof, pretended to be highly provoked at the disgraceful speeches and menaces of his brother; which he made the formal occasion of a quarrel: therefore he first sent over some forces to ravage his country; and, understanding that the Duke was coldly supported by his own subjects, many of whom came over to the King's army, he soon followed in person with more; took several towns; and, placing garrisons therein, came back to England, designing with the first pretext or opportunity to return with a more potent army, and wholly subdue the duchy to his obedience.

Robert, now grown sensible of his weakness, became wholly dispirited; and following his brother into England, in a most dejected manner begged for peace: but the King, now fully determined upon his ruin, turned away in disdain, muttering at the same time some threatening words. This indignity roused up once more the sinking courage of the Duke; who, with bitter words, detesting the pride and insolence of Henry, withdrew in a rage, and hasting back to Normandy, made what preparations he could for his own defence. The King observing his nobles very ready to engage with him in this expedition; and being assured that those in Normandy would, upon his approach, revolt from the Duke, soon followed with a mighty army, and the flower of his kingdom. Upon his arrival he was attended, according to his expectation, by several Norman lords; and, with this formidable force, sat down before Tinchebray: the Duke, accompanied by the two exiled earls, advanced with what strength he had, in hopes to draw the enemy from the siege of so important a place, although at the hazard of a battle. Both armies being drawn out in battalia, that of the King's, trusting to their numbers, began to charge with great fury, but without any order.

1106. The Duke, with forces far inferior, received the enemy with much firmness; and, finding they had spent their first heat, advanced very regularly against their main body, before they could recover themselves from the confusion they were in. He attacked them with so much courage, that he broke their whole body, and they began to fly on every side. The King believing all was lost, did what he could by threats and gentle words to stop

the flight of his men, but found it impossible: then he commanded two bodies of horse, which were placed on either wing, to join, and, wheeling about, to attack the enemy in rear. The Duke, who thought himself so near a victory, was forced to stop his pursuit; and ordering his men to face about, began the fight anew; mean time the scattered parts of the main body, which had so lately fled, began to rally, and pour in upon the Normans behind, by which Duke Robert's army was almost encompassed; yet they kept their ground awhile, and made several charges, until at length, perfectly overborne by numbers, they were utterly defeated. There Duke Robert, doing all the parts of a great captain, was taken prisoner, together with the Earl of Mortaigne, and almost his whole army: for being hemmed in on all sides, few of them could make their escape. Thus, in the space of forty years, Normandy subdued England, and England Normandy; which are events perhaps hardly to be paralleled in any other ages or parts of the world. 1107.

The King, having stayed a while to settle the state of Normandy, returned with his brother into England, whom he sent prisoner to Cardiff Castle, with orders that he should be favourably used, which, for some time, were duly observed; until being accused of attempting to make his escape (whether it were real or feigned) he had his eyes put out with a burning basin, by the King's express commands; in which miserable condition he lived for six-and-twenty years.

It is believed the King would hardly have engaged in this unnatural and invidious war, with so little pretence or provocation, if the Pope had not openly approved and sanctified his cause, exhorting him to it as a meritorious action; which seems to have been but an ill return from the Vicar of CHRIST to a prince who had performed so many brave exploits for the service of the Church, to the hazard of his person, and ruin of his fortune. But the very bigoted monks, who have left us their accounts of those times, do generally agree in heavily taxing the Roman court for bribery and corruption. And the King had promised to remit his right of investing bishops, which he performed immediately after his reduction of Normandy,

and was a matter of much more service to the Pope, than all the achievements of Duke Robert in the Holy Land, whose merits, as well as pretensions, were now antiquated and out of date.

1109. About this time the Emperor Henry V. sent to desire Maud, the King's daughter in marriage, who was then a child about eight years old: that prince had lately been embroiled in a quarrel with the see of Rome, which began upon the same subject of investing bishops, but was carried to great extremities: for invading Italy with a mighty army, he took the Pope prisoner, forced him to yield to whatever terms he thought fit to impose, and to take an oath of fidelity to him between his hands: however, as soon as Henry had withdrawn his forces, the Pope assembling a council, revoked all his concessions, as extorted by compulsion, and raised great troubles in Germany against the Emperor, who, in order to secure himself, sought this alliance with the King.

About this time likewise died Archbishop Anselm, a prelate of great piety and learning, whose zeal for the see of Rome, as well as for his own rights and privileges, should in justice be imputed to the errors of the time, and not of the man. After his death, the King, following the steps of his brother, held the see vacant five years, contenting himself with an excuse, which looked like a jest, That he only waited until he could find another so good a man as Anselm.

In the fourteenth year of this King's reign, the Welsh, after their usual manner, invaded the Marches with great fury and destruction; but the King, hoping to put a final end to those perpetual troubles and vexations given to his kingdom by that unquiet people, went in person against them with a powerful army; and to prevent their usual stratagem of retreating to their woods and mountains, and other fastnesses, he ordered the woods to be cut down, beset all their places of security, and hunting them like wild beasts, made so terrible a slaughter, that at length observing them to fling down their arms, and beg for quarter, he commanded his soldiers to forbear; then receiving their submissions, and placing garrisons where he thought necessary, he returned, in great triumph and satisfaction, to London.

The Princess Maud being now marriageable, was delivered to the Emperor's ambassador; and for a portion to the young lady a tax was imposed of three shillings upon every hide of land in England, which grew afterwards into a custom,[1] and was in succeeding times confirmed by Acts of Parliament, under the name of "Reasonable Aid for marrying the King's Daughter," although levied after a different manner. 1114.

As the institution of Parliaments in England is agreed by several writers to be owing to this King, so the date of the first hath been assigned by some to the fifteenth year of his reign; which however is not to be affirmed with any certainty: for great councils were convoked not only in the two preceding reigns, but for time immemorial by the Saxon princes, who first introduced them into this island, from the same original with the other Gothic forms of government in most parts of Europe. These councils or assemblies were composed according to the pleasure of the prince who convened them, generally of nobles and bishops, sometimes were added some considerable commoners; but they seldom met, except in the beginning of a reign, or in times of war, until this King came to the crown; who being a wise and popular prince, called these great assemblies upon most important affairs of his reign, and ever followed their advice, which, if it proved successful, the honour and advantage redounded to him, and if otherwise, he was free from the blame: thus when he chose a wife for himself, and a husband for his daughter, when he designed his expedition against Robert, and even for the election of an archbishop to the see of Canterbury, he proceeded wholly by the advice of such general assemblies, summoned for the purpose. But the style of these conventions, as delivered by several authors, is very various; sometimes it is *comites, barones, et cleri;*[2] his marriage was agreed on, *consilio majorum natu et magnatum terrae.* One author[3] calls it *concilium principum, sacerdotum, et reliqui populi.* And for the election of an archbishop, the Saxon Chronicle says, That he commanded by letters all bishops, abbots, and

[1] This was the first occasion of the feudal tax called scutage being levied in England. [W. S. J.]

[2] Brompton. [D. S.]

[3] Polydore Virgil. [D. S.]

thanes to meet him at Gloucester *ad procerum conventum.* Lastly, some affirm these assemblies to have been an imitation of the three estates in Normandy. I am very sensible how much time and pains have been employed by several learned men to search out the original of Parliaments in England, wherein I doubt they have little satisfied others or themselves. I know likewise that to engage in the same enquiry, would neither suit my abilities nor my subject. It may be sufficient for my purpose, if I be able to give some little light into this matter, for the curiosity of those who are less informed.

The institution of a state or commonwealth out of a mixture of the three forms of government received in the schools, however it be derided as a solecism and absurdity by some late writers on politics, hath been very ancient in the world, and is celebrated by the gravest authors of antiquity. For although the supreme power cannot properly be said to be divided, yet it may be so placed in three several hands, as each to be a check upon the other; or formed into a balance, which is held by him that has the executive power, with the nobility and people in counterpoise in each scale. Thus the kingdom of Media is represented by Xenophon before the reign of Cyrus; so Polybius tells us, the best government is a mixture of the three forms, *regno, optimatium, et populi imperio:* the same was that of Sparta in its primitive institution by Lycurgus, made up of *reges, seniores, et populus;* the like may be asserted of Rome, Carthage, and other states: and the Germans of old fell upon the same model, from whence the Goths their neighbours, with the rest of those northern people, did perhaps borrow it. But an assembly of the three estates is not properly of Gothic institution: for these fierce people, when upon the decline of the Roman Empire they first invaded Europe, and settled so many kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and other parts, were all Heathens; and when a body of them had fixed themselves in a tract of land left desolate by the flight or destruction of the natives, their military government by time and peace became civil; the general was king, his great officers were his nobles and ministers of state, and the common soldiers the body of the people; but these were freemen, and had smaller portions

of land assigned them. The remaining natives were all slaves; the nobles were a standing council; and upon affairs of great importance, the freemen were likewise called by their representatives to give their advice. By which it appears, that the Gothic frame of government consisted at first but of two states or assemblies, under the administration of a single person. But after the conversion of these princes and their people to the Christian faith, the Church became endowed with great possessions, as well by the bounty of kings, as the arts and industry of the clergy, winning upon the devotion of their new converts: and power, by the common maxim, always accompanying property, the ecclesiastics began soon to grow considerable, to form themselves into a body, and to call assemblies or synods by their own authority, or sometimes by the command of their princes, who in an ignorant age had a mighty veneration for their learning as well as piety. By such degrees the Church arrived at length, by very justifiable steps, to have her share in the commonwealth, and became a third estate in most kingdoms of Europe; but these assemblies, as we have already observed, were seldom called in England before the reign of this prince, nor even then were always composed after the same manner: neither does it appear from the writers who lived nearest to that age, that the people had any representative at all, beside the barons and other nobles, who did not sit in those assemblies by virtue of their birth or creation, but of the lands or baronies they held. So that the present constitution of the English Parliament hath, by many degrees and alterations, been modelled to the frame it is now in; which alterations I shall observe in the succeeding reigns as exactly as I can discover them by a diligent search into the histories of the several ages, without engaging in the controverted points of law about this matter, which would rather perplex the reader than inform him.

But to return, Louis the Gross King of France, a valiant and active prince, in the flower of his age, succeeding to that crown that Robert was deprived of, Normandy, grew jealous of the neighbourhood and power of King Henry, and begun early to entertain designs either of subduing that duchy to himself, or at least 1116.

of making a considerable party against the King in favour of William son of Robert, whom for that end he had taken into his protection. Pursuant to these intentions, he soon found an occasion for a quarrel: expostulating with Henry, that he had broken his promise by not doing homage for the Duchy of Normandy, as well as by neglecting to raze the castle of Gisors,[1] which was built on the French side of the river Epte, the common boundary between both dominions.

But an incident soon offered, which gave King Henry a pretext for retaliating almost in the same manner: for it happened that upon some offence taken against his nephew Theobald Count of Blois by the French King, Louis in great rage sent an army to invade and ravage the earl's territories. Theobald defended himself for a while with much valour; but at length in danger to be overpowered, requested aid of his uncle the King of England, who supported him so effectually with men and money, that he was able not only to defend his own country, but very much to infest and annoy his enemy. Thus a war was kindled between the two kings; Louis now openly asserted the title of William the son of Robert, and entering into an alliance with the Earls of Flanders and Anjou, began to concert measures for driving King Henry out of Normandy.

The King having timely intelligence of his enemy's designs, began with great vigour and dispatch to prepare himself for war: he raised, with much difficulty and discontent of his people, the greatest tax that had ever been known in England; and passing over into Normandy with a mighty army, joined his nephew Theobald. The King of France, who had entertained hopes that he should overrun the duchy before his enemy could arrive, advanced with great security towards the frontiers of Normandy; but observing an enemy of equal number and force already prepared to engage him, he suddenly stopped his march. The two

[1] Father Daniel says that for some years past it had been agreed that Gisors "should be sequestered in the hands of a lord called Pagan or Payen, who was to receive into it neither English or Norman, nor French troops; and in case it should fall into the hands of either of the two kings, it was stipulated, that the walls should be razed within the space of forty days" ("Hist. of France," i. 369). [W. S. J.]

armies faced one another for some hours, neither side offering battle; the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes begun by the French, and repeated for some days following with various success; but the remainder of the year passed without any considerable action.

At length the violence of the two princes brought it to a battle: for Louis, to give a reputation to his arms, advanced towards the frontiers of Normandy, and after a short siege took Gué Nicaise;[1] there the King met him, and the fight began, which continued with great obstinacy on both sides for nine hours. The French army was divided into two bodies, and the English into three; by which means, that part where the King fought in person, being attacked by a superior number, began to give way; and William Crispin, a Norman baron, singling out the King of England (whose subject he had been, but banished for treason) struck him twice in the head with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth. The King inflamed with rage and indignation, dealt such furious blows, that he struck down several of his enemies, and Crispin among the rest, who was taken prisoner at his horse's feet. The soldiers encouraged by the valour of their prince, rallied and fell on with fresh vigour, and the victory seemed doubtful, when William the son of King Henry, to whom his father had entrusted the third body of his army, which had not yet engaged, fell on with this fresh reserve upon the enemy, who was already very much harassed with the toil of the day: this quickly decided the matter; for the French, though valiantly fighting, were overcome, with the slaughter of several thousand men; their King quitted the field, and withdrew to Andely; but the King of England recovering Gué Nicaise, returned triumphant to Rouen. 1119.

This important victory was followed by the defection of the Earl of Anjou to King Henry, and the Earl of Flanders fell in the battle; by which the King of France was at once deprived of two powerful allies. However, by the intercession of the former, a peace was soon after made between both crowns. William the King's son did homage to Louis

[1] At that time reckoned an important fortress on the river Epte. [D. S.]

for the Dukedom of Normandy; and the other William, following the fortunes of his father, was left to his pretensions and complaints.

It is here observable, that from this time until Wales was subdued to the English crown, the eldest sons of England were called Dukes of Normandy, as they are now Princes of Wales.

1120. The King having stayed some time in Normandy, for the settlement of his duchy after the calamities and confusions of a war, returned to England, to the very great satisfaction of his people and himself. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of Normandy; he had subdued all his competitors, and forced even the King of France, their great protector, after a glorious victory, to his own conditions of a peace; he was upon very good terms with the Pope, who had a great esteem and friendship for his person, and made him larger concessions than was usual from that see, and in those ages. At home he was respected by the clergy, reverenced by the nobles, and beloved by the people; in his family he was blessed with a son of much hopes, just growing to years of manhood, and his daughter was an empress; so that he seemed to possess as great a share of happiness as human life is capable to admit. But the felicity of man depends upon a conjunction of many circumstances, which are all subject to various accidents, and every single accident is able to dissolve the whole contexture; which truth was never verified more than in this prince, who by one domestic misfortune, not to be prevented or foreseen, found all the pleasure and content he proposed to himself by his prudence, his industry, and his valour, wholly disappointed and destroyed: for William the young prince having embarked at Barfleur some time after his father, the mariners being all drunk, suffered the ship to run upon a rock, where it was dashed to pieces: the prince made a shift to get into the boat, and was making to the shore, until forced back by the cries of his sister, whom he received into the boat, so many others crowded in at the same time, that it was immediately overturned. There perished, beside the prince, a natural son and daughter of the King's, his niece, and many other persons of quality, together with all their attendants and

servants, to the number of a hundred and forty, beside fifty mariners, but one person escaping.

Although the King survived this cruel misfortune many years, yet he could never recover his former humour, but grew melancholy and morose; however, in order to provide better for the peace and settlement of the kingdom after his death, about five months after the loss of his son, his former Queen having died three years before, he married Adeliza, a beautiful young lady of the family of Lorraine,[1] in hopes of issue by her, but never had any.

The death of the prince gave occasion to some new troubles in Normandy; for the Earls of Meulant and Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other associates, began to raise insurrections there, which were thought to be privately fomented by the French King, out of enmity to King Henry, and in favour of William the son of Robert, to whom the Earl of Anjou had lately given his daughter in marriage. But William of Tanker- 1124.
ville, the King's lieutenant in Normandy, surprising the enemy's forces by an ambush, entirely routed them, took both the earls prisoners, and sent one of them (Meulant) to his master; but the Count d'Evreux made his escape.

King Henry having now lost hope of issue by his new Queen, brought with him, on his return to England, his daughter Maud, who by the Em- 1126.
peror's death had been lately left a widow and childless; and in a Parliament or general assembly which he had summoned at Windsor, he caused the crown to be settled on her and her children, and made all his nobles take a solemn oath to defend her title. This was performed by none with so much forwardness as Stephen Earl of Boulogne, who was observed to shew a more than ordinary zeal in the matter. This young lord was the King's nephew, being second son of the Earl of Blois by Adela the Conqueror's daughter: he was in high favour with the King his uncle, who had married him to the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Boulogne, given him

[1] She was daughter of Godfrey Duke of Louvain, or the Lower Lorraine. [D. S.]

great possessions in England, and made him indeed too powerful for a subject.

The King having thus fixed the succession of the crown in his daughter by an Act of Settlement and an oath of fealty, looked about to provide her with a second husband, and at length determined his choice in Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou, the son of Fulk lately deceased.

This prince, whose dominions confined on France and Normandy, was usually courted for an ally by both Kings in their several quarrels; but having little faith or honour, he never scrupled to change sides as often as he saw or conceived it for his advantage. After the great victory over the French, he closed in with King Henry, and gave his daughter to the young prince William; yet at the same time, by the private encouragement of Louis, he prevailed on the King of England to be easy in the conditions of a peace. Upon the unfortunate loss of the prince, and the troubles in Normandy thereupon, he fell again from the King, gave his other daughter to William the son of Robert, and struck up with France to take that prince again into protection. But dying soon after, and leaving his son Geoffrey to succeed in that earldom, the King was of opinion he could not anywhere bestow his daughter with more advantage, both for the security and enlargement of his dominions, than by giving her to this earl; by which marriage Anjou would become an acquisition to Normandy, and this be a more equal match to so formidable a neighbour as France. In a short time the marriage was concluded; and this Earl Geoffrey had the honour to introduce into the royal family of England the surname of Plantagenet, borne by so many succeeding Kings, which began with Henry II. who was the eldest son of this marriage.

But the King of France was in great discontent at this match: he easily foresaw the dismal consequences to himself and his successors from such an increase of dominion united to the crown of England: he knew what impressions might be made in future times to the shaking of his throne by an aspiring and warlike king, if they should happen in a weak reign, or upon any great discontents in that kingdom. Which conjectures being highly reasonable (and since often verified by events) he cast about to find some

way of driving the King of England entirely out of France; but having neither pretext nor stomach in the midst of a peace to begin an open and formal quarrel, there fell out an accident which gave him plausible occasion of pursuing his design.

Charles the Good Earl of Flanders having been lately murdered by some of his subjects, upon private revenge, the King of France went in person to take revenge of the assassins; which he performed with great justice and honour. But the late earl leaving no heir of his body, and several competitors appearing to dispute the succession, Louis rejected some others who seemed to have a fairer title, and adjudged it to William the son of Robert, the better to secure him to his interests upon any design he might engage in against the King of England. Not content with this, he assisted the Earl in person, subdued his rivals, and left him in peaceable possession of his new dominion.

King Henry, on the other side, was very apprehensive of his nephew's greatness, well knowing to what end it was directed; however, he seemed not to regard it, contenting himself to give the Earl employment at home by privately nourishing the discontents of his new subjects, and abetting underhand another pretender: for William had so entirely lost the hearts of his people, by his intolerable avarice and exactions, that the principal towns in Flanders revolted from him, and invited Thierri Earl of Alsace to be their governor. But the King of France generously resolved to appear once more in his defence, and took his third expedition into Flanders for that purpose. He had marched as far as Artois, when he was suddenly recalled to defend his own dominions from the fury of a powerful and provoked invader: for Henry King of England, moved with indignation to see the French King in the midst of a peace so frequently and openly supporting his most dangerous enemy, thought it the best way to divert Louis from kindling a fire against him abroad, by forcing him to extinguish one at home: he therefore entered into the bowels of France, ravaging and laying waste all before him, and quickly grew so formidable, that the French King to purchase a peace was forced to promise never more to assist or favour the Earl of Flanders; however, as it fell out, this article proved to be wholly

needless; for the young Earl soon after gave battle to Thierri, and put his whole army to the rout; but pursuing his victory, he received a wound in his wrist, which, by the unskilfulness of a surgeon, cost him his life.[1]

This one slight inconsiderable accident did, in all probability, put a stop to very great events; for if that young prince had survived his victory, it is hardly to be doubted but through the justness of his cause, the reputation of his valour, and the assistance of the King of France, he would in a little time have recovered Normandy, and perhaps his father's liberty, which were the two designs he had in agitation; nor could he well have missed the crown of England after the King's death, who was now in his decline, when he had so fair a title, and no competitors in view but a woman and an infant.

1129. Upon the King's return from Normandy, a great council of the clergy was held at London, for the punishing of priests who lived in concubinage, which was the great grievance of the Church in those ages, and had been condemned by several canons. This assembly thinking to take a more effectual course against that abomination, as it was called, decreed severe penalties upon those who should be guilty of breaking it, entreating the King to see the law put in execution; which he very readily undertook, but performed otherwise than was expected, eluding the force of the law by an evasion to his own advantage: for exacting fines of the delinquent priests, he suffered them to keep their concubines without further disturbance. A very unaccountable step in so wise a body for their own concernments, as the clergy of those times is looked upon to have been; and although perhaps the fact be not worth recording, it may serve as a lesson to all assemblies never to trust the execution of a law in the hands of those who will find it more to their interests to see it broken than observed.

1132. The Empress Maud was now happily delivered of a son, who was afterwards King of England by the name of Henry the Second: and the

[1] The lance passed through or under the ball of his thumb into his wrist. The wound gangrening, he died within five days. [D. S.]

King calling a Parliament, had the oath of fealty repeated by the nobles and clergy to her and her issue, which in the compass of three years they all broke or forgot.

I think it may deserve a place in this history to mention the last scene of Duke Robert's life, who, either through the poorness or greatness of spirit, 1134. having outlived the loss of his honour, his dominions, his liberty, his eyesight, and his only son, was at last forced to sink under the load of eighty years, and must be allowed for the greatest example either of insensibility or contempt of earthly things, that ever appeared in a sovereign or private person. He was a prince hardly equalled by any in his time for valour, conduct, and courtesy; but his ruin began from the easiness of his nature, which whoever knew how to manage, were sure to be refused nothing they could ask. By such profusion he was reduced to those unhappy expedients of remitting his rights for a pension, of pawning his towns, and multiplying taxes, which brought him into hatred and contempt with his subjects; neither do I think any virtue so little commendable in a sovereign as that of liberality, where it exceeds what his ordinary revenues can supply; where it passes those bounds, his subjects must all be oppressed to shew his bounty to a few flatterers, or he must sell his towns, or basely renounce his rights, by becoming pensioner to some powerful prince in the neighbourhood; all which we have lived to see performed by a late monarch in our own time and country.

Since the reduction of Normandy to the King's obedience, he found it necessary for his affairs to spend in that duchy some part of his time almost every 1135. year, and a little before the death of Robert he made his last voyage there. It was observable in this prince, that having some years past very narrowly escaped shipwreck in his passage from Normandy into England, the sense of his danger had made very deep impressions on his mind, which he discovered by a great reformation in his life, by redressing several grievances, and doing many acts of piety; and to shew the steadiness of his resolutions, he kept them to the last, making a progress through most parts of Normandy, treating his subjects in all places with great familiarity and kindness, granting their petitions, easing their

taxes, and, in a word, giving all possible marks of a religious, wise, and gracious prince.

Returning to St. Denys le Ferment from his progress a little indisposed, he there fell into a fever upon a surfeit of lamprey, which in a few days ended his life. His body was conveyed to England, and buried at Reading in the abbey-church himself had founded.

It is hard to affirm anything peculiar of this prince's character; those authors who have attempted it mentioning very little but what was common to him with thousands of other men; neither have they recorded any of those personal circumstances or passages, which only can discover such qualities of the mind as most distinguish one man from another. These defects may perhaps appear in the stories of many succeeding kings; which makes me hope I shall not be altogether blamed for sometimes disappointing the reader in a point wherein I could wish to be the most exact.

As to his person, he is described to be of middle stature; his body strong set and fleshy; his hair black; his eyes large; his countenance amiable, and very pleasant, especially when he was merry. He was temperate in meat and drink, and a hater of effeminacy, a vice or folly much complained of in his time, especially that circumstance of long artificial hair, which he forbade upon severe penalties. His three principal virtues were prudence, valour, and eloquence. These were counterbalanced by three great vices; avarice, cruelty, and lust; of which the first is proved by the frequency of his taxes; the second by his treatment of Duke Robert; and the last was notorious. But the proof of his virtues doth not depend on single instances, manifesting themselves through the whole course of a long reign, which was hardly attended by any misfortune that prudence, justice, or valour could prevent. He came to the crown at a ripe age, when he had passed thirty years, having learned, in his private life, to struggle with hardships, whereof he had his share, from the capriciousness and injustice of both his brothers; and by observing their failures, he had learned to avoid them in himself, being steady and uniform in his whole conduct, which were qualities they both seemed chiefly to want. This likewise made him so very tenacious as he was observed to be in his love and hatred. He was a

strict observer of justice, which he seems never to have violated, but in that particular case, which political casuists are pleased to dispense with, where the dispute is about a crown. In that he[1] * * * * * *

Consider him as a private man, he was perhaps the most accomplished person of his age, having a facetious wit, cultivated by learning, and advanced with a great share of natural eloquence, which was his peculiar talent: and it was no doubt the sense he had of this last perfection in himself, that put him so often upon calling together the great councils of the nation, where natural oratory is of most figure as well as use.

[1] Here the sentence breaks off short, and is left unfinished. [D. S.]

THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

THE veneration which people are supposed naturally to pay to a right line, and a lawful title in their kings, must be upheld by a long uninterrupted succession, otherwise it quickly loses opinion, upon which the strength of it, although not the justice, is entirely founded: and where breaches have been already made in the lineal descent, there is little security in a good title (though confirmed by promises and oaths) where the lawful heir is absent, and a popular aspiring pretender near at hand. This, I think, may pass for a maxim, if any consequences drawn from history can pretend to be called so, having been verified successively three times in this kingdom, I mean by the two preceding kings, and by the prince whose reign we are now writing. Neither can this observation be justly controlled by any instances brought of future princes, who being absent at their predecessor's death, have peaceably succeeded, the circumstances being very different in every case, either by the weakness or justice of pretenders, or else by the long establishment of lineal succession.

1135. Stephen Earl of Boulogne, whose descent hath been already shewn in the foregoing reign, was the second of three brothers, whereof the eldest was Theobald Earl of Blois, a sovereign prince, and Henry the youngest was Bishop of Winchester, and the Pope's legate in England. At the time of King Henry's death, his daughter the Empress was with her husband the Earl of Anjou, a grave and cautious prince, altogether unqualified for sudden enterprises: but Earl Stephen, who had attended the King in his last expedition, made so great dispatch for England,[1] that the council had not time to

[1] Stephen was at Boulogne when he received the news of Henry's death. [D. S.]

meet and make any declaration about a successor. When the lords were assembled, the legate had already, by his credit and influence among them, brought over a great party to his brother's interests; and the Earl himself, knowing with what success the like methods were used by his two last predecessors, was very liberal of his promises to amend the laws, support the Church, and redress grievances: for all which the bishop undertook to be guarantee. And thus was Stephen elected by those very persons who had so lately, and in so solemn a manner, more than once sworn fealty to another.

The motives whereby the nobility was swayed to proceed after this manner, were obvious enough. There had been a perpetual struggle between them and their former kings in the defence of their liberties; for the security whereof, they thought a king elected without other title, would be readier to enter into any obligations, and being held in constant dependence, would be less tempted to break them: therefore, as at his coronation they obtained full security by his taking new and additional oaths in favour of their liberties, their oath of fealty to him was but conditional, to be of force no longer than he should be true to those stipulations.

But other reasons were contrived and given out to satisfy the people: they were told it was an indignity for so noble a nation to be governed by a woman; that the late King had promised to marry his daughter within the realm, and by consent of Parliament, neither of which was observed: and lastly, Hugh Bigod, steward to King Henry, took a voluntary oath, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, that his master, in his last sickness, had, upon some displeasure, disinherited his daughter.

He received the crown with one great advantage that could best enable him to preserve it: this was the possession of his uncle's treasures, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds, and reckoned as a prodigious sum in those days; by the help of which, without ever raising one tax upon the people, he defended an unjust title against the lawful heir during a perpetual contest of almost twenty years.

In order to defend himself against any sudden invasion,

which he had cause enough to expect, he gave all men licence to build castles upon their lands, which proved a very mistaken piece of politics, although grounded upon some appearance of reason. The King supposed that no invader would venture to advance into the heart of his country without reducing every castle in his way, which must be a work of much time and difficulty, nor would be able to afford men to block them up, and secure his retreat: which way of arguing may be good enough to a prince of an undisputed title, and entirely in the hearts of his subjects: but numerous castles are ill defenders of an usurpation, being the common retreat of malcontents, where they can fly with security, and discover their affections as they please: by which means the enemy, although beaten in the field, may still preserve his footing in the bowels of a country; may wait supplies from abroad, and prolong a war for many years: nor, while he is master of any castles, can he ever be at mercy by any sudden misfortune; but may be always in a condition of demanding terms for himself. These, and many other effects of so pernicious a counsel, the King found through the whole course of his reign; which was entirely spent in sieges, revolts, surprises, and surrenders, with very few battles, but no decisive action: a period of much misery and confusion, which affords little that is memorable for events, or useful for the instruction of posterity.

1136. The first considerable enemy that appeared against him was David King of Scots, who having taken the oath of fealty to Maud and her issue, being further engaged by the ties of blood, and stirred up through the persuasions of several English nobles, began to take up arms in her cause; and invading the northern parts, took Carlisle and Newcastle; but upon the King's speedy approach with his forces, a peace was presently made, and the towns restored. However, the Scottish prince would, by no means, renounce his fidelity to the Empress, by paying homage to Stephen; so that an expedient was found to have it performed by his eldest son: in consideration of which the King gave, or rather restored, to him the Earldom of Huntingdon.

Upon his return to London from this expedition, he

happened to fall sick of a lethargy, and it was confidently given out that he was dead. This report was, with great industry and artifice, dispersed by his enemies, which quickly discovered the ill inclination of several lords, who, although they never believed the thing, yet made use of it for an occasion or pretext to fortify their castles, which they refused to surrender to the King himself; but Stephen was resolved, as he said, to convince them that he was alive and well; for coming against them before he was expected, he recovered Exeter, Norwich,[1] and other fortified places, although not without much difficulty.

It is obvious enough to wonder how a prince of so much valour, and other excellent endowments, elected by the Church and State, after a compliance with all conditions they could impose on him, and in an age when so little regard was had to the lineal descent, lastly confirmed by the Pope himself, should be soon deserted and opposed by those very persons who had been the most instrumental to promote him. But, beside his defective title, and the undistinguished liberty of building castles, there were three circumstances which very much contributed to those perpetual revolts of the nobles against him: first, that upon his coming to the crown he was very liberal in distributing lands and honours to several young gentlemen of noble birth, who came to make their court, whereby he hoped to get the reputation of a generous prince, and to strengthen his party against the Empress: but, by this encouragement, the number of pretenders quickly grew too fast upon him; and when he had granted all he was able, he was forced to dismiss the rest with promises and excuses, who, either out of envy or discontent, or else to mend their fortunes, never failed to become his enemies upon the first occasion that offered. Secondly, when he had reduced several castles and towns which had given the first example of disaffection from him, he hardly inflicted the least punishment on the authors; which unseasonable mercy, that in another prince and another age would have been called greatness of spirit, passed in him for pusillanimity and fear, and is reckoned, by the writers of those times to have been the cause of

[1] Hugh Bigod had seized Norwich Castle. [D. S.]

many succeeding revolts. The third circumstance was of a different kind: for, observing how little good effect he had found by his liberality and indulgence, he would needs try the other extreme, which was not his talent. He began to infringe the articles of his charter; to recall or disown the promises he had made; and to repulse petitioners with rough treatment, which was the more unacceptable by being new and unexpected.

1137. Mean time the Earl of Anjou, who was not in a condition to assert his wife's title to England, hearing Stephen was employed at home, entered Normandy with small force, and found it no difficult matter to seize several towns. The Normans, in the present distraction of affairs, not well knowing what prince to obey, at last sent an invitation to Theobald Earl of Blois, King Stephen's eldest brother, to accept their dukedom upon the condition of protecting them from the present insults of the Earl of Anjou. But before this matter could come to an issue, Stephen, who, upon reduction of the towns already mentioned, had found a short interval of quiet from his English subjects, arrived with unexpected speed into Normandy; where Geoffrey of Anjou soon fled before him, and the whole duchy came over to his obedience; for the further settlement whereof he made peace with the King of France; constituted his son Eustace Duke of Normandy; and made him swear fealty to that Prince, and do him homage. His brother Theobald, who began to expostulate upon this disappointment, he pacified with a pension of two thousand marks:[1] and even the Earl of Anjou himself, who, in right of his wife, made demands of Stephen for the kingdom of England, finding he was no equal match at present, was persuaded to become his pensioner for five thousand more.[2]

Stephen, upon his return to England, met with an account of new troubles from the north; for the King of Scots, under pretence of observing his oath of fealty to the Empress,

[1] The mark of Normandy is to be understood here. Such a pension in that age was equivalent to one of £31,000 sterling in the present. [D. S.]

[2] Five thousand marks of silver coin was, in this reign, of the same value as the sum of £77,500 modern currency, is now. Here again the Norman mark seems to be used. [D. S.]

infested the Borders, and frequently making cruel inroads, plundered and laid waste all before him.

In order to revenge this base and perfidious treatment, the King, in his march northward, sat down before Bedford, and took it after a siege of twenty days. 1138. This town was part of the Earldom of Huntingdon, given by Stephen in the late peace to the eldest son of the Scottish King, for which the young prince did homage to him; and it was upon that account defended by a garrison of Scots. Upon intelligence of this surrender, King David, overcome with fury, entered Northumberland, where, letting loose the rage of his soldiers, he permitted and encouraged them to commit all manner of inhumanities; which they performed in so execrable a manner as would scarce be credible, if it were not attested by almost the universal consent of writers: they ripped up women with child, drew out the infants, and tossed them upon the points of their lances: they murdered priests before the altars; then cutting the heads from off the crucifixes, in their stead put on the heads of those they had murdered: with many other instances of monstrous barbarity too foul to relate: but cruelty being usually attended with cowardice, this perfidious prince, upon the approach of King Stephen, fled into places of security. The King of England, finding no enemy on whom to employ his revenge, marched forward into the country, destroying with fire and sword all the southern parts; and would, in all probability, have made terrible impressions into the heart of Scotland, if he had not been suddenly recalled by a more dangerous fire at home, which had been kindled in his absence, and was now broken out into a flame.

Robert Earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late King, came into England some time after the advancement of Stephen to the crown; and, yielding to the necessity of the time, took the oath of fealty upon the same condition used by the other nobles, to be of force so long as the King should keep his faith with him, and preserve his dignity inviolate: but, being in his heart wholly devoted to the interests of the Empress his sister, and moved by the persuasions of several religious men, he had, with great secrecy and application, so far practised upon the levity or dis-

contents of several lords, as to gain them to his party: for the King had, of late, very much alienated the nobles against him; first, by seizing several of their persons, and dispossessing them of their lands; and, secondly, by taking into his favour William d'Ypres, a Flemish commander, of noble birth, but banished by his prince. This man, with many of his followers, the King employed chiefly both in his councils and his armies, and made him Earl of Kent, to the great envy and displeasure of his English subjects. The Earl of Gloucester, therefore, and his accomplices, having prepared all things necessary for an insurrection, it was agreed among them, that while the King was engaged against the Scots, each of them should secure what towns and castles they could, and openly declare for the Empress. Accordingly Earl Robert suddenly fortified himself in Bristol; the rest followed his example; Hereford, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Dover,[1] and many other places, were seized by several lords, and the defection grew so formidable, that the King, to his great grief, was forced to leave his Scottish expedition unfinished, and return with all possible speed to suppress the rebellion begun by his subjects; having first left the care of the north to Thurstan Archbishop of York; with orders carefully to observe the motions of the Scots.

Whilst the King was employed in the south in reducing his discontented lords, and their castles, to his obedience, David, presuming upon the distance between them, re-entered England with more numerous forces, and greater designs, than before: for, without losing more time than what was necessary to pillage and destroy the country as he marched, he resolved to besiege York, which, if he could force to surrender, would serve as a convenient frontier against the English. To this end, advancing near the city, and having pitched his tents, he sat down before it with his whole army. In the mean time Archbishop Thurstan, having already summoned the nobles and gentry of the shire and parts adjacent, had, by powerful persuasions incited them to defend their country against a treacherous, bloody, and rest-

[1] Robert Earl of Gloucester had been entrusted by Stephen with the custody of Dover Castle: but Robert lying now under heavy suspicion, the King sent Matilda his queen to besiege it, in which she was successful. [D. S.]

less enemy: so that before the King of Scotland could make any progress in the siege, the whole power of the north was united against him, under the Earl of Albemarle, and several other nobles. Archbishop Thurstan happening to fall sick, could not go in person to the army, but sent the Bishop of Durham in his stead; by whose encouragements the English, although in number far inferior, advanced boldly towards the enemy, and offered them battle, which was as readily accepted by the Scots, who, sending out a party of horse to secure the rising ground, were immediately attacked by the English, and, after a sharp dispute, entirely defeated. In the heat of the battle the King of Scots, and his son Henry Earl of Huntingdon, gave many proofs of great personal valour. The young prince fell with such fierceness upon a body of the English, that he utterly broke and dispersed them; and was pursuing his victory, when a certain man, bearing aloft the head of an enemy he had cut off, cried out, It was the head of the Scottish King, which being heard and believed on both sides, the English, who had lately fled, rallied again, assaulting their enemies with new vigour; the Scots, on the other side, discouraged by the supposed death of their Prince, began to turn their backs: the King and his son used all endeavours to stop their flight, and made several brave stands against the enemy; but the greatest part of their army being fled, and themselves almost encompassed, they were forced to give way to fortune, and with much difficulty made their escape.

The loss on the English side was inconsiderable; but of Scots, by general consent of writers, ten thousand were slain. And thus ended the War of the Standard, as it was usually called by the authors of that age, because the English, upon a certain engine, raised the mast of a ship, on the top whereof, in a silver box, they put the consecrated wafer, and fastened the standards of St. Peter and other saints: this gave them courage, by remembering they were to fight in the presence of God; and served likewise for a mark where to reassemble when they should happen to be dispersed by any accident or misfortune.

Mean time the King was equally successful against his rebellious lords at home, having taken most of their castles and strong-holds; and the Earl of Gloucester himself, no

longer able to make any resistance, withdrew into Normandy, to concert new measures with the Empress his
1139. sister. Thus the King had leisure and opportunity for another expedition into Scotland, to pursue and improve his victory, where he met with no opposition: however, he was at length persuaded with much difficulty to accept his own conditions of a peace; and David delivered up to him his eldest son Henry, as hostage for performance of articles between them.

The King, in his return homeward, laid siege to Ludlow Castle, which had not been reduced with the rest: here Prince Henry of Scotland, boiling with youth and valour, and exposing his person upon all occasions, was lifted from his horse by an iron grapple let down from the wall, and would have been hoisted up into the castle, if the King had not immediately flown to his assistance, and brought him off with his own hands by main force from the enemy, whom he soon compelled to surrender the castle.

Stephen having thus subdued his inveterate
1140. enemies the Scots, and reduced his rebellious nobles, began to entertain hopes of enjoying a little ease. But he was destined to the possession of a crown with perpetual disturbance; for he was hardly returned from his northern expedition, when he received intelligence that the Empress, accompanied by her brother the Earl of Gloucester, was preparing to come for England, in order to dispute her title to the kingdom. The King, who knew by experience what a powerful party she already had to espouse her interests, very reasonably concluded, the defection from him would be much greater, when she appeared in person to countenance and reward it; he therefore began again to repent of the licence he had granted for building castles, which were now like to prove so many places of security for his enemies, and fortifications against himself; for he knew not whom to trust, vehemently suspecting his nobles ever since their last revolt. He therefore cast about for some artifice to get into his hands as many of their castles as he could: in the strength and magnificence of which kind of structures, the bishops had far outdone the rest, and were upon that, as well as other accounts, very much maligned and envied by the temporal lords, who were

extreme jealous of the Church's increasing power, and glad upon all occasions to see the prelates humbled. The King, therefore, having formed his project, resolved to make trial where it would be least invidious, and where he could foresee least danger in the consequences. At a Parliament or assembly of nobles at Oxford, it was contrived to raise a quarrel between the servants of some bishops and those of Alan Count of Dinan in Bretagne, upon a contention of rooms in their inns. Stephen took hold of this advantage, sent for the bishops, taxed them with breaking his peace, and demanded the keys of their castles, adding threats of imprisonment if they dared to disobey. Those whom the King chiefly suspected, or rather who had built the most and strongest castles, were Roger Bishop of Salisbury, with his nephew and natural son the Bishops of Ely and Lincoln, whom the King, by many circumstances of rigour, compelled to surrender, going himself in person to seize the Devizes, then esteemed the noblest structure of Europe, and built by the forementioned Bishop Roger, whose treasure, to the value of forty thousand marks,[1] there likewise deposited, fell, at the same time, into the King's hand, which in a few days broke the bishop's heart, already worn with age and infirmity.

It may, perhaps, not be thought a digression to say something of the fortunes of this prelate, who, from the lowest beginnings, came to be, without dispute, the greatest churchman of any subject in his age. It happened that the late King Henry, in the reign of his brother, being at a village in Normandy, wanted a priest to say mass before him and his train, when this man, who was a poor curate thereabouts, offered his service, and performed it with so much dexterity and speed, that the soldiers who attended the prince recommended him to their master, upon that account, as a very proper chaplain for military men; but it seems he had other talents; for having gotten into the prince's service, he soon discovered great application and address, much order and economy in the management of his master's fortunes,

[1] This prelate's treasure is doubtless computed by the smaller or Saxon mark; the use of which still prevailed in England: and even thus computed, it amounts to a vast sum, equal to about £116,350 of modern money. [D. S.]

which were wholly left to his care. After Henry's advancement to the crown, this chaplain grew chief in his favour and confidence; was made Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor of England, employed in all his most weighty affairs, and usually left vicegerent of the realm while the King was absent in Normandy. He was among the first that swore fealty to Maud and her issue; and among the first that revolted from her to Stephen, offering such reasons in council for setting her aside, as, by the credit and opinion of his wisdom, were very prevalent. But the King, in a few years, forgot all obligations, and the bishop fell a sacrifice in his old age to those treasures he had been so long heaping up for its support. A just reward for his ingratitude towards the Prince that raised him, to be ruined by the ingratitude of another, whom he had been so very instrumental to raise.

But Henry Bishop of Winchester, the Pope's legate, not able to endure this violation of the Church, called a council of all the prelates to meet at Winchester, where the King being summoned, appeared by his advocate, who pleaded his cause with much learning; and the Archbishop of Rouen coming to the council, declared his opinion, That although the canons did allow the bishops to possess castles, yet in dangerous times they ought to deliver them up to the King. This opinion Stephen followed very steadily, not yielding a tittle, although the legate his brother used all means, both rough and gentle, to work upon him.

The council of bishops broke up without other effect than that of leaving in their minds an implacable hatred to the King, in a very opportune juncture for the interests of Maud, who, about this time, landed at Portsmouth with her brother Robert Earl of Gloucester. The whole force she brought over for this expedition consisted but of one hundred and forty knights;[1] for she trusted altogether in her cause and her friends. With this slender attendance she went to Arundel, and was there received into the castle by the widow of the late King; while Earl Robert, accompanied only by

[1] In these times none served on horseback but gentlemen or knights, in right of their fiefs, or their representatives, called *Men-at-arms;* and each of these was attended by at least two servants or retainers mounted and armed. [D. S.]

twenty men, marched boldly to his own city of Gloucester, in order to raise forces for the Empress, where the townsmen turned out the King's garrison as soon as they heard of his approach.

King Stephen was not surprised at the news of the Empress's arrival, being a thing he had always counted upon, and was long preparing himself against. He was glad to hear how ill she was provided, and resolved to use the opportunity of her brother's absence; for, hasting down to Arundel with a sufficient strength, he laid siege to the castle, in hopes, by securing her person, to put a speedy end to the war.

But there wanted not some very near about the King, who, favouring the party of Maud, had credit enough to prevail with him not to venture time and reputation against an impregnable fortress, but rather, by withdrawing his forces, permit her to retire to some less fortified place, where she might more easily fall into his hands. This advice the King took against his own opinion; the Empress fled out of Arundel by night; and, after frequent shifting her stages through several towns, which had already declared in her favour, fixed herself at last at Lincoln; where, having all things provided necessary for her defence, she resolved to continue, and expect either a general revolt of the English to her side, or the decision of war between the King and her brother.

But Stephen, who had pursued the Empress from place to place, hearing she had shut herself up in Lincoln, resolved to give her no rest; and to help on his design, it fell out that the citizens in hatred to the Earl of Chester, who commanded there for the Empress, sent a private invitation to the King, with promise to deliver the town and their governor into his hands. The King came accordingly, and possessed himself of the town; but Maud and the Earl made their escape a few days before. However, many great persons of Maud's party remained prisoners to the King, and among the rest the Earl of Chester's wife, who was daughter to the Earl of Gloucester. These two Earls resolving to attempt the relief of their friends, marched with all their forces near Lincoln, where they found the enemy drawn up and ready to receive them. 1141.

The next morning, after battle offered by the lords, and accepted by the King, both sides made ready to engage. The King having disposed his cavalry on each wing, placed himself at the head of his foot, in whom he reposed most confidence. The army of the lords was divided in three bodies; those whom King Stephen had banished were placed in the middle, the Earl of Chester led the van, and the Earl of Gloucester commanded the rear. The battle was fought at first with equal advantage, and great obstinacy on both sides; at length the right wing of the King's horse, pressed by the Earl of Chester, galloped away, not without suspicion of treachery; the left followed the example. The King beheld their flight, and encouraging those about him, fell with undaunted valour upon the enemy; and being for some time bravely seconded by his foot, did great execution. At length overpowered by numbers, his men began to disperse, and Stephen was left almost alone with his sword in his hand, wherewith he opposed his person against a whole victorious army, nor durst any be so hardy to approach him; the sword breaking, a citizen of Lincoln put into his hands a Danish battle-axe,[1] with which he struck to the ground the Earl of Chester,[2] who presumed to come within his reach. But this weapon likewise flying in pieces with the force of those furious blows he dealt on all sides, a bold knight of the Empress's party, named William de Keynes, laid hold on his helmet, and immediately cried out to his fellows, "I have got the King." Then the rest ran in, and he was taken prisoner.[3]

The King being thus secured, was presented to the Empress, then at Gloucester, and by her orders conveyed to Bristol, where he continued in strict custody nine months, although with honourable treatment for some time, until either upon endeavouring to make his escape, or in malice to the Londoners, who had a great affection for their King, he was, by express command from the Empress, laid in irons, and used with other circumstances of severity.

This victory was followed by a general defection of almost

[1] Sim. Dunelmensis. [D. S.]

[2] The Earl of Chester lived nevertheless to fight other battles, and died twelve years afterwards by poison. [D. S.]

[3] Gervase. [D. S.]

the whole kingdom; and the Earl of Anjou, husband to the Empress, upon the fame of the King's defeat and imprisonment, reduced without any difficulty the whole Duchy of Normandy to his obedience.

The legate himself, although brother to King Stephen, received her at Winchester with great solemnity, accepted her oath for governing with justice, redressing grievances, and supporting the rights of the Church, and took the old conditional one of fealty to her; then in an assembly of bishops and clergy convoked for the purpose, he displayed the miscarriages of his brother, and declared his approbation of the Empress to be Queen; to which they unanimously agreed. To complete all, he prevailed by his credit with the Londoners, who stood out the last of any, to acknowledge and receive her into the city, where she arrived at length in great pomp, and with general satisfaction.

But it was the misfortune of this Princess to possess many weaknesses that are charged to the sex, and very few of its commendable qualities: she was now in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom, except the county of Kent, where William d'Ypres pretended to keep up a small party for the King; when by her pride, wilfulness, indiscretion, and a disobliging behaviour, she soon turned the hearts of all men against her, and in a short time lost the fruits of that victory and success which had been so hardly gained by the prudence and valour of her excellent brother. The first occasion she took to discover the perverseness of her nature, was in the treatment of Maud, the wife of King Stephen, a lady of great virtue, and courage above her sex, who, coming to the Empress an humble suitor in behalf of her husband, offered, as a price of his liberty, that he should resign all pretensions to the crown, and pass the rest of his life in exile, or in a convent: but this request was rejected with scorn and reproaches; and the Queen finding all entreaties to no purpose, writ to her son Eustace to let him understand the ill success of her negotiation, that no relief was to be otherwise hoped for than by arms; and therefore advised him to raise immediately what forces he could for the relief of his father.

Her next miscarriage was towards the Londoners, who presented her a petition for redressing certain rigorous laws

of her father, and restoring those of Edward the Confessor. The Empress put them off for a time with excuses, but at last discovered some displeasure at their importunity. The citizens, who had with much difficulty been persuaded to receive her against their inclinations, which stood wholly for the King, were moved with indignation at her unreasonable refusal of their just demands, and entered into a conspiracy to seize her person. But she had timely notice of their design, and leaving the city by night in disguise, fled to Oxford.

A third false step the Empress made,[1] was in refusing her new powerful friend the legate a favour he desired in behalf of Eustace, the King's son, to grant him the lands and honours held by his father before he came to the crown. She had made large promises to this prelate, that she would be directed in all things by his advice, and to be refused upon his first application a small favour for his own nephew, stung him to the quick; however, he governed his resentments a while, but began at the same time to resume his affection for his brother. These thoughts were cultivated with great address by Queen Maud, who prevailed at last so far upon the legate, that private measures were agreed between them for restoring Stephen to his liberty and crown. The bishop took leave of the Empress, upon some plausible pretence, and retired to Winchester, where he gave directions for supplying with men and provisions several strong castles he had built in his diocese, while the Queen with her son Eustace prevailed with the Londoners and men of Kent to rise in great numbers for the King; and a powerful army was quickly on foot, under the command of William d'Ypres Earl of Kent.

In the mean time the Empress began to be sensible of the errors she had committed; and in hope either to retrieve the friendship of the legate, or take him prisoner, marched with her army to Winchester, where being received and lodged in the castle, she sent immediately for the legate, spoke much in excuse of what was past, and used all endeavours to regain him to her interests. Bishop Henry, on the other side, amused her with dubious answers, and

[1] William of Malmesbury. [D. S.]

kept her in suspense for some days; but sent privately at the same time to the King's army, desiring them to advance with all possible speed; which was executed with so much diligence, that the Empress and her brother had only time with their troops to march a back way out of the town. They were pursued by the enemy so close in the rear, that the Empress had hardly time, by counterfeiting herself dead, to make her escape; in which posture she was carried as a corpse to Gloucester; but the Earl her brother, while he made what opposition he could, with design to stop her pursuers, was himself taken prisoner, with great slaughter of his men. After the battle, the Earl was in his turn presented to Queen Maud, and by her command sent to Rochester to be treated in the same manner with the King.

Thus the heads of both parties were each in the power of his enemy, and Fortune seemed to have dealt with great equality between them. Two factions divided the whole kingdom, and, as it usually happens, private animosities were inflamed by the quarrel of the public; which introduced a miserable face of things throughout the land, whereof the writers of our English story give melancholy descriptions, not to be repeated in this history; since the usual effects of civil war are obvious to conceive, and tiresome as well as useless to relate. However, as the quarrel between the King and Empress was grounded upon a cause that in its own nature little concerned the interests of the people, this was thought a convenient juncture for transacting a peace, to which there appeared an universal disposition. Several expedients were proposed; but Earl Robert would consent upon no other terms than the deposing of Stephen, and immediate delivery of the crown to his sister. These debates lasted for some months, until the two prisoners, weary of their long constraint, by mutual consent were exchanged for each other, and all thoughts of agreement laid aside.

The King, upon recovery of his freedom, hastened to London, to get supplies of men and money for renewing the war. He there found that his brother of Winchester had, in a council of bishops and abbots, renounced all obedience to the Empress, and persuaded the assembly to

follow his example. The legate, in excuse for this proceeding, loaded her with infamy, produced several instances wherein she had broken the oath she took when he received her as Queen, and upon which his obedience was grounded; said, he had received information that she had a design upon his life.[1]

It must be confessed that oaths of fealty in this Prince's reign were feeble ties for binding the subject to any reasonable degree of obedience; and the warmest advocates for liberty cannot but allow, from those examples here produced, that it is very possible for people to run upon great extremes in this matter, that a monarch may be too much limited, and a subject too little; whereof the consequences have been fully as pernicious for the time as the worst that can be apprehended from arbitrary power in all its heights, although not perhaps so lasting or so hard to be remedied; since all the miseries of this kingdom, during the period we are treating of, were manifestly owing to that continual violation of such oaths of allegiance, as appear to have been contrived on purpose by ambitious men to be broken at pleasure, without the least apprehension of perjury, and in the mean time keep the prince in a continual slavish dependence.

The Earl of Gloucester, soon after his release, went over into Normandy, where he found the Earl of Anjou employed in completing the conquest of that duchy; there he delivered him the sons of several English noblemen, to be kept as hostages for their fathers' fidelity to the Empress, and used many arguments for persuading him to come over in person with an army to her assistance: but Geoffrey excused himself by the importance of other affairs, and the danger of exposing the dominions he had newly acquired to rebellions in his absence. However, he lent the Earl of Gloucester a supply of four hundred men, and sent along with him his eldest son Henry, to comfort his mother, and be shewn to the people.

During the short absence of the Earl of Gloucester, the Empress was closely besieged in Oxford by the King; and provisions beginning to fail, she was in cruel apprehensions

[1] William of Malmesbury. [D. S.]

of falling into his hands. This gave her occasion to put in practice the only talent wherein she seemed to excel, which was that of contriving some little shift or expedient to secure her person upon any sudden emergency. A long season of frost had made the Thames passable upon the ice, and much snow lay on the ground; Maud with some few attendants clad all in white, to avoid being discovered from the King's camp, crossed the river at midnight on foot, and travelling all night, got safe to Wallingford Castle, where her brother and young son Henry, newly returned from France, arrived soon after, to her great satisfaction: but Oxford, immediately upon the news of her flight, surrendered to the King.

However, this disgrace was fully compensated soon after by another of the same kind, which happened to King Stephen; for whilst he and his brother of Winchester were fortifying a nunnery at Wilton, to bridle his enemies at Salisbury, who very much harassed those parts by their frequent excursions, the Earl of Gloucester, who watched all opportunities, came unaware with a strong body of men, and set fire on the nunnery while the King himself was in it. Stephen, upon the sudden surprise of the thing, wholly lost or forgot his usual courage, and fled shamefully away, leaving his soldiers to be cut in pieces by the Earl.

During the rest of the war, although it lasted nine years longer, there is little memorable recorded by any writer; whether the parties being pretty equal, and both sufficiently tired with so long a contention, wanted vigour and spirit to make a thorough conquest, and only endeavoured to keep what they had, or whether the multitude of strong castles, whose number daily increased, made it very difficult to end a war between two contending powers almost in balance; let the cause be what it will, the whole time passed in mutual sieges, surprises, revolts, surrenders of fortified places, without any decisive action, or other event of importance to be related. By which at length the very genius of the people became wholly bent upon a life of spoil, robbery, and plunder; many of the nobles, although pretending to hold their castles for the King or the Empress, lived like petty independent princes in a perpetual state of war against their neighbours; the fields lay uncultivated, all the arts of civil life were banished, no veneration left for sacred persons or things; in

short, no law, truth, or religion among men, but a scene of universal misery, attended with all the consequences of an embroiled and distracted state.

About the eleventh year of the King's reign, young Henry, now growing towards a man, was sent for to France by a message from his father, who was desirous to see him; but left a considerable party in England, to adhere to his interests; and in a short time after (as some write[1]) the Empress herself grown weary of contending any longer in a cause where she had met with nothing but misfortunes of her own procuring, left the kingdom likewise, and retired to her husband. Nor was this the only good fortune that befell Stephen; for before the year ended, the main prop and pillar of his enemies was taken away by death; this was Robert Earl of Gloucester, than whom there have been few private persons known in the world that deserve a fairer place and character in the registers of time, for his inviolable faith, disinterested friendship, indefatigable zeal, and firm constancy to the cause he espoused, and unparalleled generosity in the conduct thereof: he adhered to his sister in all her fortunes, to the ruin of his own; he placed a crown on her head; and when she had lost it by her folly and perverseness refused the greatest offers from a victorious enemy, who had him in his power, and chose to continue a prisoner rather than recover his liberty by any hazard to her pretensions: he bore up her sinking title in spite of her own frequent miscarriages, and at last died in her cause by a fever contracted with perpetual toils for her service. An example fit to be shewn the world, although few perhaps are like to follow it; but however, a small tribute of praise, justly due to extraordinary virtue, may prove no ill expedient to encourage imitation.

But the death of this lord, together with the absence of the Empress and her son in France, added very little to the quiet or security of the King. For the Earl of Gloucester, suspecting the fidelity of the lords, had, with great sagacity, delivered their sons to the Earl of Anjou, to be kept as pledges for their fathers' fidelity, as we have before related: by which means a powerful party was still kept up against Stephen, too strong to be suddenly broken. Besides, he

[1] Gervase. [D. S.]

had, by an unusual strain of his conduct, lately lost much good-will, as well as reputation, in committing an act of violence and fraud on the person of the Earl of Chester, a principal adherent of the Empress. This nobleman, of great power and possessions, had newly reconciled himself to Stephen, and came to his court at Northampton, where, against all laws of hospitality, as well as common faith and justice, he was committed to prison, and forced to buy his liberty with the surrender of Lincoln, and all his other places, into the King's hands.

Affairs continued in this turbulent posture about two years, the nobles neither trusting the King nor each other. The number of castles still increased, which every man who had any possessions was forced to build, or else become a prey to his powerful neighbours. This 1149. was thought a convenient juncture, by the Empress and her friends, for sending young Prince Henry to try his fortune in England, where he landed at the head of a considerable number of horse and foot, although he was then but sixteen years old. Immediately after his arrival he went to Carlisle, where he met his cousin David King of Scots, by whom he was made knight, after the usual custom of young princes and noblemen in that age. The King of England, who had soon intelligence of Henry's landing and motions, marched down to secure York, against which he expected the first attempt of his enemy was designed. But, whatever the cause might be (wherein the writers of those ages are either silent or unsatisfactory) both armies remained at that secure distance for three 1150. months, after which Henry returned back to Normandy, leaving the kingdom in the state of confusion he found it at his coming.

The fortunes of this young prince Henry Fitz-Empress now began to advance by great and sudden steps, whereof it will be no digression to inform the reader, as well upon the connection they have with the affairs at home about this time, as because they concern the immediate successor to the crown.

Prince Henry's voyage to France was soon fol- 1151. lowed by the death of his father Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, whereby the son became possessed of that earl-

dom, together with the Duchy of Normandy; but in a short time after he very much enlarged his dominions
1152. by a marriage, in which he consulted his reputation less than his advantage. For Louis the Young, King of France, was lately divorced from his wife Eleanor, who, as the French writers relate, bore a great contempt and hatred to her husband, and had long desired such a separation. Other authors give her not so fair a character: but whatever might be the real cause, the pretext was consanguinity in the fourth degree.[1] Henry was content to accept this lady with all her faults, and in her right became Duke of Aquitaine, and Earl of Poitou, very considerable provinces, added to his other dominions.

But the two Kings of France and England began to apprehend much danger from the sudden greatness of a young ambitious prince; and their interests were jointly concerned to check his growth. Duke Henry was now ready to sail for England, in a condition to assert his title upon more equal terms; when the King of France, in conjunction with Eustace, King Stephen's son, and Geoffrey, the Duke's own brother, suddenly entered into his dominions with a mighty army; took the Castle of Neufmarché by storm, and laid siege to that of Angers. The Duke, by this incident, was forced to lay aside his thoughts of England, and marching boldly towards the enemy, resolved to relieve the besieged; but finding they had already taken the castle, he thought it best to make a diversion, by carrying the war into the enemy's country, where he left all to the mercy of his soldiers, surprised and burnt several castles, and made great devastations wherever he came. This proceeding answered the end for which it was designed; the King of France thought he had already done enough for his honour, and began to grow weary of a ruinous war, which was likely to be protracted. The conditions of a peace, by the intervention of some religious men, were soon agreed. The Duke, after some time spent in settling his affairs, and preparing all things necessary for his intended expedition, set

[1] Louis VII., after living fourteen years with his Queen, obtained a dissolution of the marriage on the plea of relationship within the prohibited degrees. See Bouchet, "Annalles d'Acquitaine." [W. S. J.]

sail for England, where he landed[1] the same year in the depth of winter, with a hundred and forty knights, and three thousand foot.

Some time before Henry landed, the King had conceived a project to disappoint his designs, by confirming the crown upon himself and his own posterity.[2] He sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates, and proposed that his son Eustace should be crowned King with all the usual solemnity: but the bishops absolutely refused to perform the office, by express orders from the Pope, who was an enemy to Stephen, partly upon account of his unjust or declining cause, but chiefly for his strict alliance with the King of France, who was then engaged in a quarrel against that See, upon a very tender point relating to the revenues of vacant churches. The King and his son were both enraged at the bishops' refusal, and kept them prisoners in the chamber where they assembled, with many threats to force them to a compliance, and some other circumstances of rigour; but all to no purpose, so that he was at length forced to desist. But the archbishop, to avoid further vexation, fled the realm.

This contrivance of crowning the son during the life and reign of the father, which appears so absurd in speculation, was actually performed in the succeeding reign, and seems to have been taken up by those two princes of French birth and extraction, in imitation of the like practice in their native country,[3] where it was usual for kings grown old and infirm, or swayed by paternal indulgence, to receive their eldest son into a share of the administration, with the title of King; a custom borrowed, no doubt, from the later emperors of Rome, who adopted their Caesars after the like manner.

The King was employed in his usual exercise of besieging castles when the news was brought of Henry's arrival. He left the work he was about, and marched directly against the Duke, who was then sat down before Malmesbury. But Stephen forced him to raise the siege, and immediately offered him battle. The 1153.

[1] The place where he landed is not mentioned by our historians. It was probably in the West of England, as the first garrisoned town he attacked was Malmesbury. [D. S.]

[2] Gervase, Hen. Huntingdon. [D. S.] [3] Mezeray. [D. S.]

Duke, although his army was much increased by continual revolts, thought it best to gain time, being still in number far inferior to the King, and therefore kept himself strongly entrenched. There is some difference among writers about the particulars of this war: however, it is generally agreed, that in a short time after, the two armies met, and were prepared for battle, when the nobles on both sides, either dreading the consequences, or weary of a tedious war, prevailed with the King and Duke to agree to a truce for some days in order to a peace; which was violently opposed by Eustace, the King's son, a youth of great spirit and courage, because he knew very well it could not be built but upon the ruin of his interests; and therefore finding he could not prevail, he left the army in a rage, and, attended by some followers, endeavoured to satiate his fury, by destroying the country in his march: But in a few days, as he sat at dinner in a castle of his own, he fell suddenly dead, either through grief, madness, or poison.

The truce was now expired, and the Duke began to renew the war with fresh vigour; but the King was wholly dispirited upon this fatal accident, and now first began to entertain real thoughts of a peace. He had lost a son whom he dearly loved, and with him he likewise lost the alliance of the French King, to whose sister the young prince was married. He had indeed another son left, but little esteemed by the nobles and people; nor, as it appears, much regarded by his father. He was now in the decline of his age, decayed in his health, forsaken by his friends, who, since the death of Eustace, fell daily from him; and having no further care at heart for his posterity, he thought it high time to seek repose for his person. The nobles soon observed this disposition in their King, which was so agreeable to their own; therefore, by general consent, Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed mediator between both princes. All matters were soon agreed; an assembly of lords was convened at Winchester, where the King received the Duke with great marks of courtesy and kindness. There the peace was confirmed by the King's charter, wherein are expressed the terms of agreement. But I shall relate only the principal.

The King, by this charter, acknowledged Henry for lawful

successor to the crown; in which capacity all the nobles paid him homage: and Henry himself, with his party, paid homage to Stephen. There is likewise a reservation for William, the King's son, of all the honours possessed by his father before he came to the crown. The King likewise acknowledges the obedience of his subjects to be no longer due to him than he shall observe the conditions of this charter. And for the performance of these articles, the archbishops and bishops were appointed guarantees. There were some other articles agreed on, which are not mentioned in the charter; as, a general pardon; a restitution, to the right owners, of those lands and possessions, which had been usurped in the time of the troubles; that all castles built during the war should be razed to the ground, which are said to have been above eleven hundred; that the rights of the Church should be preserved; with other matters of less moment.

Thus, by the prudence of Archbishop Theobald, the moderation of the two princes engaged, and the universal inclination of the people, a happy period was put to this tedious and troublesome war: men began to have the prospect of a long peace; nor was it easy to foresee what could possibly arise to disturb it; when discovery was made, by accident, of a most horrible piece of treachery, which, if it had met with success, would have once more set the whole nation in a flame. The Duke, after the peace, attended the King to London, to be shewn to the people as the undoubted successor to the crown; and having made a progress together through some other parts of the kingdom, they came to Canterbury; where Henry received private notice of a design upon his life. It hath been already observed, that the King employed in his wars a body of Flemings, to the great discontent of his own subjects, with whom they were very ungracious. These foreigners were much discontented at the peace, whereby they were likely to become useless and burthensome to the present King, and hateful to the successor. To prevent which, the commanders among them began to practise upon the levity and ambition of William the King's son. They urged the indignity he had received in being deprived of his birthright; offered to support his title by their valour, as they had done

that of his father; and, as an earnest of their intentions, to remove the chief impediment by dispatching his rival out of the world. The young prince was easily wrought upon to be at the head of this conspiracy; time and place were fixed; when, upon the day appointed, William broke his leg by a fall from his horse; and the conspirators wanting their leader immediately dispersed. This disappointment and delay, as it usually happens among conspirators, were soon followed by a discovery of the whole plot, whereof the Duke, with great discretion, made no other use than to consult his own safety; therefore, without any shew of suspicion or displeasure, he took leave of the King, and returned to Normandy.

1154. Stephen lived not above a year to share the happiness of this peace with his people, in which time he made a progress through most parts of the kingdom, where he gained universal love and veneration, by a most affable and courteous behaviour to all men. A few months after his return he went to Dover, to have an interview with the Earl of Flanders;[1] where, after a short sickness, he died of the iliac passion, together with his old distemper the hemorrhoids, upon the twenty-fifth day of October, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

He was a prince of wonderful endowments, both in body and mind: in his person tall and graceful, of great strength as well as vigour: he had a large portion of most virtues that can be useful in a King towards the happiness of his subjects or himself; courtesy and valour, liberality and clemency, in an eminent degree; especially the last, which he carried to an extreme, though very pardonable, yet hardly consisting with prudence, or his own safety. If we except his usurpation of the crown, he must be allowed a prince of great justice, which most writers affirm to have been always unblemished, except in that single instance: for, as to his treatment of the bishops and the Earl of Chester, it seems very excusable by the necessity of the time; and it was the general opinion, if he had not used that proceeding with the

[1] The Earl of Flanders was a potent sovereign on the continent, and had landed at Dover, in order to meet and confer with the King. [D. S.]

latter, it would have cost him his crown. Perhaps his injustice to the Empress might likewise admit a little extenuation. Four kings successively had sat on the throne without any regard to lineal descent; a period beyond the memory of most men then alive; whereby the people had lost much of that devotion they were used to bear towards an established succession: besides, the government of a woman was then a thing unknown, and for that reason disliked by all who professed to hate innovations.

But the wisdom of this prince was by no means equal to the rest of his virtues. He came to the crown upon as fair a title as his predecessor, being elected by the general consent of the nobles, through the credit of his brother, and his own personal merit. He had no disturbance for some time, which he might easily have employed in settling the kingdom, and acquiring the love of his people. He had treasure enough to raise and pay armies, without burthening the subject. His competitor was a woman, whose sex was the least of her infirmities, and with whom he had already compounded for his quiet by a considerable pension: yet with all these advantages he seldom was master of above half the kingdom at once, and that by the force of perpetual struggling, and with frequent danger of losing the whole. The principal difficulties he had to encounter, appear to have been manifest consequences of several most imprudent steps in his conduct, whereof many instances have been produced in the history of his reign; such as, the unlimited permission of building castles; his raising the siege of a weak place where the Empress was shut up, and must, in a few days, have fallen into his hands; his employing the Flemings in his wars, and favouring them above his own subjects; and lastly, that abortive project of crowning his son, which procured him at once the hatred and contempt of the clergy, by discovering an inclination to violence and injustice that he durst not pursue: whereas, it was nothing else but an effect of that hasty and sudden disposition usually ascribed to those of his country, and in a peculiar manner charged to this prince: for authors give it as a part of his character, to be hot and violent in the beginning of an enterprise, but to slacken and grow cold in the prosecution.

He had a just sense of religion, and was frequent in attending the service of the Church, yet reported to be no great friend of the clergy; which, however, is a general imputation upon all the kings of this realm in that and some succeeding reigns, and by no means personal to this prince, who deserved it as little as any.

I do not find any alterations during this reign in the meetings of general assemblies, further than that the Commons do not seem to have been represented in any of them; for which I can assign no other reason than the will of the King, or the disturbance of the time.[1] I observed the word Parliament is used promiscuously among authors, for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy; which renders this matter too perplexed to ascertain anything about it.

As for affairs of the Church, that deserve particular mention, I have not met with any; unless it should be worth relating, that Henry Bishop of Winchester, the Pope's legate, who held frequent synods during this reign, was the first introducer of appeals to Rome, in this kingdom, for which he is blamed by all the monkish historians who give us the account.

[1] The rise and history of Parliaments had not been cleared up when the Doctor writ in the beginning of this current century. It is certain, that the Commons had as yet never been represented. [D. S.]

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND

A FRAGMENT

THE spirit of war and contention, which had for a long time possessed the nation, became so effectually laid during the last year of King Stephen's reign, that no alteration or disturbance ensued upon his death, although the new King,[1] after he had received intelligence of it, was detained six weeks[2] by contrary winds: besides, the opinion of this prince's power and virtues, had already begotten so great an awe and reverence for him among the people, that upon his arrival he found the whole kingdom in a profound peace. He landed at Hostreham,[3] about the beginning of December, was received at Winchester by a great number of the nobility, who came there to attend and swear fealty to him, and three weeks after was crowned at Westminster, about the twenty-third year of his age. 1154.

For the further settling of the kingdom, after the long distractions in the preceding reign, he seized on all the castles which remained undestroyed since the last peace between him and King Stephen; whereof some he demolished, and trusted others to the government of persons in whom he could confide.

But that which most contributed to the quiet of the realm, and the general satisfaction of his subjects, was a

[1] Henry was at that time besieging a castle on the frontiers of Normandy. [D. S.]

[2] Five weeks at the most; a month, saith Brompton. [D. S.]

[3] At Hostreham, saith Gervase. This place is not easy to be found; however, it must be on the Sussex or Hampshire coast, because the King went directly from the place of his landing to Winchester. Carte says he landed December 8th, near Hurst Castle in the New Forest. [D. S.]

proclamation published, commanding all foreigners to leave England, enforced with a most effectual clause, whereby a day was fixed, after which it should be capital for any of them to appear; among these was William d'Ypres Earl of Kent, whose possessions the King seized into his own hands.

These foreigners, generally called Flemings by the writers of the English story, were a sort of vagabond soldiers of fortune, who in those ages, under several denominations, infested other parts of Europe as well as England: they were a mixed people, natives of Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Brabant, and other parts of Spain and Flanders. They were ready to be hired to whatever prince thought fit to employ them, but always upon condition to have full liberty of plunder and spoil. Nor was it an easy matter to get rid of them, when there was no further need of their service. In England they were always hated by the people, and by this prince in particular, whose continual enemies they had been.

After the expulsion of these foreigners, and the forcing a few refractory lords to a surrender of their castles, King Henry, like a wise prince, began to consider that a time of settled peace was the fittest juncture to recover the rights of the crown, which had been lost by the war. He therefore resumed, by his royal authority, all crown lands that had been alienated by his predecessor; alleging that they were unalienable in themselves, and besides, that the grants were void, as coming from an usurper. Whether such proceedings are agreeable with justice, I shall not examine; but certainly a prince cannot better consult his own safety than by disabling those whom he renders discontent, which is effectually done no other way but by depriving them of their possessions.

1156. While the King was thus employed at home, intelligence came that his brother Geoffrey was endeavouring by force to possess himself of the Earldom of Anjou, to which he had fair pretensions; for their father considering what vast dominions would fall to his eldest son, bequeathed that earldom to the second in his last sickness, and commanded his nobles then about him, to take an oath that they would not suffer his body to be

buried until Henry (who was then absent) should swear to observe his will. The Duke of Normandy, when he came to assist at his father's obsequies, and found that without his compliance he must draw upon himself the scandal of keeping a father unburied, took the oath that was exacted for observance of his will, though very much against his own. But after he was in possession of England, whether it were that his ambition enlarged with his dominions, or that from the beginning he had never intended to observe what he had sworn, he prevailed with Pope Adrian (of English birth) to dispense with his oath, and in the second year of his reign went over into Normandy, drove his brother entirely out of Anjou, and forced him to accept a pension for his maintenance. But the young prince, through the resentment of this unnatural dealing, in a short time died of grief.

Nor was his treatment more favourable to the King of Scots, whom, upon a slight pretence, he took occasion to dispossess of Carlisle, Newcastle, and other places granted by the Empress to that prince's father, for his services and assistance in her quarrel against Stephen.

Having thus recovered whatever he had any title to demand, he began to look out for new acquisitions. Ireland was in that age a country little known in the world. The legates sent sometimes thither from the Court of Rome, for urging the payment of annats, or directing other Church affairs, represented the inhabitants as a savage people, overrun with barbarism and superstition: for indeed no nation of Europe, where the Christian religion received so early and universal admittance, was ever so late or slow in feeling its effects upon their manners and civility.[1] Instead of refining their manners by their faith, they had suffered their faith to be corrupted by their manners; true religion being almost defaced, both in doctrine and discipline, after a long course of time, among a people wholly sunk in ignorance and barbarity. There seem to have been two reasons why the inhabitants of that island continued so long uncultivated; first, their subjection or vassalage to so many petty kings, whereof a great number is mentioned by authors, besides

[1] The Irish had been very learned in former ages, but had declined for several centuries before the reign of Henry II. *Vide* Bede. [D. S.]

those four or five usually assigned to the several provinces. These princes were engaged in perpetual quarrels, in doing or revenging injuries of violence, or lust, or treachery, or injustice, which kept them all in a continual state of war. And indeed there is hardly any country, how renowned soever in ancient or modern story, which may not be traced from the like original. Neither can a nation come out from this state of confusion, until it is either reduced under one head at home, or by force or conquest becomes subject to a foreign administration.

The other reason why civility made such late entrances into that island, may be imputed to its natural situation, lying more out of the road of commerce or conquest than any other part of the known world. All the intercourse the inhabitants had, was only with the western coasts of Wales and Scotland, from whence, at least in those ages, they were not like to learn very much politeness.

1155. The King, about the second year of his reign, sent ambassadors to Pope Adrian, with injunctions to desire his licence for reducing the savage people of Ireland from their brutish way of living, and subjecting them to the crown of England. The King proceeded thus, in order to set up a title to the island, wherein the Pope himself pretended to be lord of the fee; for in his letter, which is an answer and grant to the King's requests, he insists upon it, that all islands, upon their admitting the Christian faith, become subject to the See of Rome; and the Irish themselves avowed the same thing to some of the first conquerors. In that forementioned letter, the Pope highly praises the King's generous design,[1] and recommends to him the civilizing the natives, the protection of the Church, and the payment of Peter-pence. The ill success of all past endeavours to procure from a people so miserable and irreligious this revenue to the holy see was a main inducement with the Pope to be easy and liberal in his grant; for the King professed a design of securing its regular payment. However, this expedition was not undertaken until some years after, when there happened an incident to set it forward, as we shall relate in its place.* * * * * *

[1] Radulphus de Diceto. [D. S.]

HENRY THE SECOND'S CHARACTER

EXTRACTED FROM THE MONKS

Hard to gather his character from such bad authors.

A WISE prince, to whom other princes referred their differences; and had ambassadors from both empires, east and west, as well as others, at once in his court.

Strong and brawny body, patient of cold and heat, big head, broad breast, broken voice, temperate in meat, using much exercise, just stature, *forma elegantissima, colore subrufo, oculis glaucis*, sharp wit, very great memory, constancy in adversity [and] in felicity, except at last he yielded, because almost forsaken of all; liberal, imposed few tributes, excellent soldier and fortunate, wise and not unlearned. His vices: mild and promising in adversity, fierce and hard, and a violator of faith in prosperity; covetous to his domestics and children, although liberal to soldiers and strangers, which turned the former from him; loved profit more than justice; very lustful, which likewise turned his sons and others from him. Rosamond and the labyrinth at Woodstock. Not very religious;[1] *mortuos milites lugens plus quam vivos amans; largus in publico, parcus in privato.* Constant in love and hatred, false to his word, morose, a lover of ease. Oppressor of nobles, sullen, and a delayer of justice; *verbo varius et versutus*——Used churchmen well after Becket's death; charitable to the poor, levied few taxes, hated slaughter and cruelty.[2] A great memory, and always knew those he once saw.

Very indefatigable in his travels backwards and forwards to Normandy, &c. of most endless desires to increase his dominions. * * * * *

Caetera desiderantur.

[1] Brompton. [D. S.]

[2] Giraldus. [D. S.]

SWIFT'S REMARKS

ON THE

CHARACTERS OF THE COURT

OF

QUEEN ANNE.

FROM "MEMOIRS OF THE SECRET SERVICES OF JOHN MACKY, ESQ."

NOTE.

JOHN MACKY, the author of the "Characters," was, for many years, in the employ of the English government, as an agent for obtaining information as to the movements of the French. He published, in 1696, "A View of the Court of St. Germains from the Year 1690 to 1695." The information embodied in this work he obtained from personal observation while in Paris. About 1709, however, he aroused the government's suspicions, and was imprisoned. He was kept confined until the accession of George I. On his release he attempted to establish a packet-service between England and Ireland, to Dublin; but the venture failed. He died at Rotterdam in 1726. The "Characters" was first published in 1733, with the title:

"Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Macky, Esq., during the Reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. Including also the true Secret History of the Rise, Promotions, etc., of the English and Scots Nobility; Officers, Civil, Military, Naval, and other Persons of distinction from the Revolution. In their respective Characters at large: drawn up by Mr. Macky pursuant to the direction of Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia. Published from his original manuscript, as attested by his son, Spring Macky, Esq. London, 1733." The work was prepared for the press by a Mr. Davis, an officer in the Customs.

It has been questioned whether Swift did really make the "remarks" attributed to him by his various editors; but there can be little doubt about their authenticity. Thomas Birch seems to have transcribed the "remarks" in 1753, if we are to believe a note in a copy of Macky's book in the British Museum, which says: "The MS. notes on the Characters in this Book were written by Dr. Swift, and transcribed by Tho. Birch. Aug. 15, 1753." Isaac Reed's copy is also in the British Museum, but his notes were transcribed from another copy in the possession of J. Putland, and Putland's copy, Reed notes, was "formerly in the possession of Philip Carteret Webb, Esq., now [1770] of Thomas Astle, Esq." J. Ritson's copy, which is at the South Kensington Museum, had the "remarks" transcribed to it from Reed's copy, but Ritson notes that Reed copied the "remarks" from J. Putland's transcript of the Dean's own original. Ritson, however, does not say how he knew that Putland had the "Dean's own original." In "Notes and Queries" (3, ii. 430) the Rev. J. Jebb, Rector of Peterstow, states he had (in 1862) a copy of the "Characters" with transcript of Swift's "remarks" by Bishop Jebb. Mr. Edward Solly has an interesting paper on this matter in the "Bibliographer" for March, 1883. He suggests that Mr. Putland may have written them down himself from remarks made by Swift. "The Crypt" for December, 1829, published Swift's "remarks" from a copy in the possession of Mr. Pickering, the bookseller.

A careful collation of all the available copies has been made for this edition, and the text of Macky's work has been read with the first edition. Where neither Reed nor Birch give no remarks, they have been omitted from this reprint. "The Crypt" and Nichols in his quarto edition (vol. xiv.) often differ, but these differences have been adjusted.

It is almost needless to say that Sir Walter Scott's text and notes have been very much altered by this process.

[T. S.]

REMARKS ON THE CHARACTERS OF THE COURT OF QUEEN ANNE.

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

Macky.

A TALL, handsome man for his age, with a very obliging address; of a wonderful presence of mind, so as hardly ever to be discomposed; of a very clean head, and sound judgment; . . . every way capable of being a great man, if the great success of his arms, and the heaps of favours thrown upon him by his sovereign, does not raise his thoughts above the rest of the nobility, and consequently draw upon him the envy of the people of England. He is turned of 50 years of age.—*Swift.* Detestably covetous.

JAMES, DUKE OF ORMONDE.

Macky. He hath all the qualities of a great man, except that one of a statesman, hating business. . . . He is about 40 years old.—*Swift.* Fairly enough writ.

CHARLES, DUKE OF SOMERSET.

Macky. Is of a middle stature, well shaped, a very black complexion, a lover of music and poetry; of good judgment. —*Swift.* Not a grain; hardly common sense.

JOHN, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Macky. He is a nobleman of learning, and good natural parts, but of no principles. Violent for the high-church, yet seldom goes to it. Very proud, insolent, and covetous, and takes all advantages. In paying his debts, unwilling; and is neither

esteemed nor beloved.—*Swift.* This character is the truest of any.

DANIEL, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM [AFTERWARDS EARL OF WINCHILSEA].

Macky. He hath the exterior air of business, and application enough to make him very capable. In his habit and manners very formal; a tall, thin, very black man, like a Spaniard or Jew, about 50 years old.—*Swift.* He fell in with the Whigs; was an endless talker.

HENRY, EARL OF ROMNEY.

Macky. He was indeed the great wheel on which the Revolution rolled.—*Swift.* He had not a wheel to turn a mouse. *Macky.* He is a gentleman that hath lived up [*Swift*, down] to the employments the King gave him; of great honour and honesty, with a moderate capacity.—*Swift.* None at all.

JOHN, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Macky. He hath one only daughter, who will be the richest heiress in Europe.—*Swift.* Now Countess of Oxford; cheated by her father.

CHARLES [LENNOX], DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Macky. He is a gentleman good-natured to a fault; very well bred, and hath many valuable things in him; is an enemy to business, very credulous, well shaped, black complexion, much like King Charles; not 30 years old.—*Swift.* A shallow coxcomb.

CHARLES, DUKE OF BOLTON.

Macky. Does not now make any figure at court.—*Swift.* Nor anywhere else. A great booby.

GEORGE, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Macky. He is a man of honour, nice in paying his debts, and living well with his neighbours in the country; does not much care for the conversation of men of quality, or business. Is a tall black man, like his father the King, about 40 years old.—*Swift.* He was a most worthy person, very good-natured, and had very good sense.

CHARLES [FITZROY], DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Macky. Grandson to King Charles II.; . . . a very pretty gentleman, hath been abroad in the world; zealous for the constitution of his country. A tall black man, about 25 years old.—*Swift.* Almost a slobberer; without one good quality.

SIR NATHAN WRIGHT,

LORD KEEPER.

Macky. Is son of a clergyman,[1] a good common lawyer, a slow chancellor, and no civilian. Chance more than choice brought him the seals.—*Swift.* Very covetous.

RALPH, DUKE OF MONTAGU.

Macky. He is a great supporter of the French, and other Protestants . . . an admirer of learning.—*Swift.* As arrant a knave as any in his time.

WILLIAM, MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON.

Macky. One of the best beloved gentlemen, by the country party, in England.—*Swift.* A very poor understanding.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS.

Macky. Of a creditable family, in the city of Worcester.—*Swift.* Very mean; his father was a noted rogue.—*Macky.* He is believed to be the best chancellor that ever sat in the chair.—*Swift.* I allow him to have possessed all excellent qualifications except virtue. He had violent passions, and hardly subdued them by his great prudence.

CHARLES, LORD HALIFAX [AFTERWARDS EARL OF HALIFAX].

Macky. He is a great encourager of learning and learned men, is the patron of the muses, of very agreeable conversation, a short fair man, not 40 years old.—*Swift.* His encouragements were only good words and dinners; I never heard him say one good thing, or seem to taste what was said by another.

[1] His father had the living of Thurcaston, in Leicestershire. [S.]

CHARLES, EARL OF DORSET.

Macky. One of the finest gentlemen, in England, in the reign of King Charles II.; of great learning [*Swift*, small, or none], extremely witty, and hath been the author of some of the finest poems in the English language, especially satire. . . . One of the pleasantest companions in the world [*Swift*, not of late years, but a very dull one], when he likes his company.

RICHARD, EARL RIVERS.

Macky. He was one of the greatest rakes in England in his younger days, but always a lover of the constitution of his country; is a gentleman of very good sense, and very cunning. —*Swift.* An arrant knave in common dealings, and very prostitute.

ARNOLD, EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

Macky. He was King William's constant companion in all his diversions and pleasures.—*Swift.* Very infamous pleasures.

ALGERNON, EARL OF ESSEX.

Macky. Is son to that earl whose throat was cut in the Tower. —*Swift.* Cut his own throat.

WILLIAM, EARL OF PORTLAND.

Macky. He is supposed to be the richest subject in Europe, very profuse in gardening, birds, and household furniture, but mighty frugal and parsimonious in everything else; of a very lofty mien, and yet not proud; of no deep understanding.— *Swift.* As great a dunce as ever I knew.

JAMES, EARL OF DERBY.

Macky. On his brother's death he came to the House of Peers, where he never will make any great figure, the sword being more his profession; he is a fair-complexioned man, well shaped, taller than the ordinary size, and a man of honour.— *Swift.* As arrant a scoundrel as his brothers.

CHARLES, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

Macky. He affects popularity, and loves to preach in coffee-houses, and public places; is an open enemy to revealed religion; brave in his person; hath a good estate; does not seem expensive, yet always in debt, and very poor.—*Swift.* This character is for the most part true.

CHARLES, EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

Macky. This gentleman is endued with a great deal of learning, virtue [*Swift*, no], and good sense.

THOMAS, EARL OF STAMFORD.

Macky. Is one of the first branches of the Greys, a noble family in England. . . . He doth not want sense; but by reason of a defect in his speech, wants elocution.—*Swift.* He looked and talked like a very weak man; but it was said he spoke well at council.

THOMAS [TUFTON], EARL OF THANET.

Macky. He is a good country gentleman, a great assertor of the prerogatives of the monarchy and the Church.—*Swift.* Of great piety and charity.

EDWARD [MONTAGU], EARL OF SANDWICH.

Macky. Of very ordinary parts; married the witty Lord Rochester's daughter, who makes him very expensive.—*Swift.* As much a puppy as ever I saw; very ugly, and a fop.

ROBERT, LORD LUCAS.

Macky. He is every way a plain man, yet took a great deal of pains to seem knowing and wise; everybody pitied him when the Queen turned him out, for his seeming good nature, and real poverty.—*Swift.* A good plain humdrum.

CHARLES, EARL OF WINCHILSEA.

Macky. He hath neither genius nor gusto for business, . . . and is zealous for the monarchy and Church to the highest

degree. He loves jests and puns, [*Swift.* I never observed it,] and that sort of low wit.—*Swift.* Being very poor, he complied too much with the party he hated.

JOHN, LORD POULETT OF HINTON [AFTERWARDS EARL POULETT].

Macky. He is certainly one of the hopefullest gentlemen in England; is very learned, virtuous, and a man of honour; much esteemed in the country, for his generous way of living with the gentry, and his charity to the poorest sort.—*Swift.* This character is fair enough.

CHARLES, LORD [VISCOUNT] TOWNSHEND.

Macky. Is a gentleman of great learning, attended with a sweet disposition; a lover of the constitution of his country; is beloved by everybody that knows him.—*Swift.* I except one.

WILLIAM, LORD DARTMOUTH [AFTERWARDS EARL OF DARTMOUTH].

Macky. He sets up for a critic in conversation, makes jests, and loves to laugh at them; takes a great deal of pains in his office, and is in a fair way of rising at court.—*Swift.* This is right enough, but he has little sincerity.

THOMAS, LORD WHARTON [AFTERWARDS EARL OF WHARTON].

Macky. One of the completest gentlemen in England, hath a very clear understanding, and manly expressions, with abundance of wit. He is brave in his person, much of a libertine, of a middle stature, fair complexion, and 50 years old.—*Swift.* The most universal villain I ever knew.

CHARLES, LORD MOHUN.

Macky. He is brave in his person, bold in his expressions, and rectifies, as fast as he can, the slips of his youth by acts of honesty; which he now glories in more, than he was formerly extravagant.—*Swift.* He was little better than a conceited talker in company.

HENRY, EARL OF KENT.[1]

Macky. Is the first branch of the ancient family of Grey. The present gentleman was much esteemed, when Lord Ruthen; was always very moderate, has good sense, and a good estate; which, with his quality, must make him always bear a considerable figure in the nation.—*Swift.* He seems a good-natured man, but of very little consequence.

ROBERT, EARL OF LINDSEY [AFTERWARDS DUKE OF ANCASTER].

Macky. A fine gentleman, has both wit and learning.—*Swift.* I never observed a grain of either.

MONTAGU, EARL OF ABINGDON.

Macky. A gentleman of fine parts, makes a good figure in the counties of Oxford and Buckinghamshire: . . . is very high for the monarchy and Church.—*Swift.* Very covetous.

PHILIP, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD.

Macky. He is very subtle and cunning, never entered into the measures of King William, nor ever will, in all probability, make any great appearance in any other reign.—*Swift.* If it be old Chesterfield, I have heard he was the greatest knave in England.

CHARLES, EARL OF BERKELEY.

Macky. A gentleman of learning, parts, and a lover of the constitution of his country; a short fat man.—*Swift.* Intolerably lazy and indolent, and somewhat covetous.

LOUIS, EARL OF FEVERSHAM.

Macky. A third son of the family of Duras in France; he came over with one of the Duke of York's family; . . . is a middle-statured brown man, turned of 50 years old.—*Swift.* He was a very dull old fellow.

HENRY, EARL OF GRANTHAM.

Macky. He is a very pretty gentleman, fair complexioned, and past 30 years old.—*Swift.* And good for nothing.

[1] Afterwards Duke of Kent.

JOHN, LORD DE LA WARR.

Macky. A free jolly gentleman, turned of 40 years old.—*Swift.* Of very little sense; but formal, and well stocked with the low kind of lowest politics.

ROBERT, LORD LEXINTON.

Macky. He is of a good understanding, and very capable to be in the ministry; a well-bred gentleman, and an agreeable companion.—*Swift.* A very moderate degree of understanding.

RALPH, LORD GREY OF WERKE.

Macky. A sweet disposed gentleman; he joined King William at the Revolution, and is a zealous assertor of the liberties of the people.—*Swift.* Had very little in him.

JAMES, LORD CHANDOS.

Macky. Was warm against King William's reign, and doth not make any great figure in this; but, his son, Mr. Brydges [1] does, being a member of the House of Commons, one of the counsellors to the prince, and a very worthy gentleman.—*Swift.* But a great complier with every court.

FRANCIS, LORD GUILFORD.

Macky. Is son to the lord-keeper North, hath been abroad, does not want sense nor application to business, and his genius leads him that way.—*Swift.* A mighty silly fellow.

EDWARD, LORD GRIFFIN.

Macky. Having followed King James's fortunes, is now in France. He was always a great sportsman, and brave; a good companion, turned of 60 years old.—*Swift.* His son was a plain drunken fellow.

HUGH, LORD CHOLMONDELEY [AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY].

Macky. This lord is a great lover of country sports; is handsome in his person, and turned of 40 years old.—*Swift.* Good for nothing, as far as ever I knew.

[1] Afterwards Duke of Chandos.

CHARLES, LORD BUTLER OF WESTON.

Macky. Earl of Arran in Ireland, and brother to the Duke of Ormonde; . . . of very good sense, though seldom shows it. —*Swift.* This is right; but he is the most negligent of his own affairs.

MR. THOMAS MANSELL [AFTERWARDS LORD MANSELL].

Macky. He is a gentleman of a great deal of wit and good nature, a lover of the ladies, and a pleasant companion.—*Swift.* Of very good nature, but a very moderate capacity.

ROBERT HARLEY, ESQ. [AFTERWARDS EARL OF OXFORD],

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Macky. He is skilled in most things, and very eloquent, [*Swift*, a great lie;] was bred a Presbyterian, yet joins with the Church party in everything; and they do nothing without him. —*Swift.* He could not properly be called eloquent, but he knew how to prevail on the House with few words and strong reasons.

THE HON. HENRY BOYLE [AFTERWARDS LORD CARLETON],

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,

Macky. Is a good companion in conversation; agreeable amongst the ladies; serves the Queen very assiduously in council; makes a considerable figure in the House of Commons; by his prudent administration, obliges everybody in the exchequer; and in time may prove a great man.—*Swift.* He had some very scurvy qualities, particularly avarice.

SIR THOMAS FRANKLAND,

POST-MASTER-GENERAL.

Macky. He is a gentleman of a very sweet, easy, affable disposition; of good sense, extremely zealous for the constitution of his country, yet does not seem over forward; keeps an exact unity amongst the officers under him, and encourages them in their duty, through a peculiar familiarity, by which he obliges them, and keeps up the dignity of being master.—*Swift.* A fair character.

THE RT. HON. JOHN SMITH,

ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY-COUNCIL.

Macky. A gentleman of much honour, a lover of the constitution of his country; a very agreeable companion in conversation, a bold orator in the House of Commons,[1] when the interest of his country is at stake; of a good address.—*Swift.* I thought him a heavy man.

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL.D.

Macky. He was very poor at the Revolution, had no business to support him all the reign of King William, yet made a good figure. He is a very cloudy-looked man, fat, of middle stature, about 50 years old.—*Swift.* He was used ill by most ministries; he ruined his own estate, which put him under a necessity to comply with the times.

MATTHEW PRIOR, ESQ.,

COMMISSIONER OF TRADE.

Macky. On the Queen's accession to the throne, he was continued in his office, is very well at court with the ministry, and is an entire creature of my Lord Jersey's, whom he supports by his advice. Is one of the best poets in England, but very factious in conversation; a thin hollow-looked man, turned of 40 years old.—*Swift.* This is near the truth.

THOMAS TENISON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Macky. A plain, good, heavy man, now much in years, and wearing out; very tall, of a fair complexion, and 70 years old.—*Swift.* The most good-for-nothing prelate I ever knew.

GILBERT BURNET.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Macky. Of a very good family in Scotland, of the name of Burnet, his father was Lord [*Swift*, laird] of Cremont. . . . He is one of the greatest [*Swift*, Scotch] orators of the age he lives

[1] He was Speaker of the House of Commons, 1705-1708. [T. S.]

in. His "History of the Reformation," and his "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles," show him to be a man of great learning; but several of his other works show him to be a man neither of prudence nor temper; his sometimes opposing, and sometimes favouring, the Dissenters, hath much exposed him to the generality of the people of England; yet he is very useful in the House of Peers, and proves a great pillar, both of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, against the encroachments of a party which would destroy both.—*Swift.* His true character would take up too much time for me (who knew him well) to describe it.

GEORGE STEPNEY, ESQ.,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE EMPEROR [OF AUSTRIA].

Macky. A gentleman of admirable natural parts, very learned, one of the best poets [*Swift*, scarce of a third rate] now in England.

MR. [AFTERWARDS SIR PAUL] METHUEN,

AMBASSADOR TO THE KING OF PORTUGAL.

Macky. A man of intrigue, but very muddy in his conceptions, and not quickly understood in anything. In his complexion and manners, much of a Spaniard.—*Swift.* A profligate rogue, without religion or morals; but cunning enough, yet without abilities of any kind.

THOMAS, LORD RABY [AFTERWARDS EARL OF STRAFFORD],

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

Macky. He is a young gentleman, *de bon naturel*, handsome, of fine understanding, [*Swift*, very bad, and can't spell,] and, with application, may prove a man of business. He is of low stature [*Swift*, he is tall].

MR. [RICHARD] HILL,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

Macky. Is a gentleman of a good family in Shropshire. He was designed for the church, and took deacon's [*Swift*, priest's] orders; but having a genius for business, and falling into the acquaintance of my Lord Ranelagh, when tutor to my Lord

Hyde, he was sent into Flanders as paymaster to the English troops there. . . . He is a gentleman of very clear parts, and affects plainness and simplicity [*Swift, au contraire,*] in his dress, and conversation especially. He is a favourite to both parties [*Swift,* to neither]; and is beloved for his easy access, and affable way by those he has business to do with. He is a thin, tall man, [*Swift,* short, if I remember right,] taller than the ordinary stature, near 50 years old.

SIR LAMBERT BLACKWELL,

ENVOY TO THE GREAT DUKE OF TUSCANY.

Macky. He affects much the gentleman in his dress, and the minister in his conversation: Is very lofty, yet courteous, when he knows his people; much envied by his fellow merchants.—*Swift.* He seemed to be a very good-natured man.

MR. [*Dr.*] AGLIONBY,

ENVOY TO THE SWISS CANTONS.

Macky. He hath abundance of wit, and understands most of the modern languages well; knows how to tell a story to the best advantage; but has an affected manner of conversation; is thin, splenetic, and tawny complexioned, turned of 60 years old.—*Swift.* He had been a Papist.

MR. D'AVENANT,

AGENT AT FRANKFORT.

Macky. A very giddy-headed young fellow, with some wit; about 25 years old.—*Swift.* He is not worth mentioning.

JOHN, LORD CUTTS.

Macky. He hath abundance of wit, but too much seized with vanity and self-conceit; he is affable, familiar, and very brave; . . . towards 50 years old.—*Swift.* The vainest old fool alive.

HENRY, EARL OF GALWAY.

Macky. One of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet, as well as the camp; is very modest,

vigilant, and sincere ; a man of honour and honesty, [*Swift*, in all directly otherwise ;] without pride or affectation ; wears his own hair, is plain in his dress and manners, towards 60 years old.—*Swift.* A deceitful, hypocritical, factious knave ; a damnable hypocrite, of no religion.

GEORGE, EARL OF ORKNEY.

Macky. He is a very well-shaped black man ; is brave ; but, by reason of a hesitation in his speech wants expression.—*Swift.* An honest good-natured gentleman, and hath much distinguished himself as a soldier.

MR. JAMES STANHOPE [AFTERWARDS EARL STANHOPE],

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY TO THE STATES GENERAL.

Macky. He is a man of honour, . . . and pleases the Dutch. His son, Colonel Stanhope, is one of the finest young gentlemen we have ; is very learned, with a great deal of wit. . . . A handsome [*Swift*, ugly] black man.

SIR CHARLES O'HARA [AFTERWARDS LORD TYRAWLEY],

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

Macky. At the Revolution he had a company in the foot-guards ; was afterwards lieutenant-colonel to that regiment ; was made colonel to the fusileers, and gradually advanced to the post he now hath, which he well deserves, being of good understanding, and abundance of learning ; fit to command, if not too covetous ; he is a short, black man, 50 years old.—*Swift.* His father was a groom ; he was a man of sense, without one grain of honesty.

COLONEL MATTHEW AYLMER [AFTERWARDS LORD AYLMER],

VICE-ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET.

Macky. He hath a very good head, indefatigable and designing ; is very zealous for the liberties of the people, makes a good figure in the Parliament, as well as the fleet.—*Swift.* A virulent party man, born in Ireland.

JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Macky. On the Queen's accession to the throne, he made strong efforts to get into the administration, but hath not yet succeeded, though he is well received at court; he is brave in his person, with a rough air of boldness; of good sense, very forward and hot for what he undertakes; ambitious and haughty, a violent enemy; hath been very extravagant in his manner of living; but now grows covetous.—*Swift.* He was made master of the ordnance; a worthy good-natured person, very generous, but of a middle understanding; he was murdered by that villain Macartney, an Irish Scot.

ARCHIBALD, DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Macky. Few of his years hath a better understanding, nor a more manly behaviour. He hath seen most of the courts of Europe, is very handsome in his person, fair complexioned; about 25 years old.—*Swift.* Ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot; has no principle, but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.

JAMES, MARQUESS OF MONTROSE [AFTERWARDS DUKE OF MONTROSE].

Macky. Representative of the ancient and noble family of Graham; great-grandson to that famous Montrose, who was hanged and quartered for Charles I.; and grandson, by the mother, to the Duke of Rothes. He inherits all the great qualities of those two families, with a sweetness of behaviour, which charms all those who know him; hath improved himself in most foreign courts; is very beautiful in his person, and about 25 years old.—*Swift.* Now very homely, and makes a sorry appearance.

JOHN, EARL OF SUTHERLAND.

Macky. A very honest man, a great assertor of the liberties of the people; hath a good, rough sense; is open and free; a great lover of his bottle and his friend; brave in his person, which he hath shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it.—*Swift.* A blundering, rattle-pated, drunken sot.

SECRETARY [JAMES] JOHNSTOUN,

NOW LORD-REGISTER.

Macky. Is a younger son of my Lord Warriston, who was beheaded. . . . He is very honest, [*Swift*, a treacherous knave,] yet something too credulous and suspicious; endued with a great deal of learning and virtue; is above little tricks, free from ceremony; and would not tell a lie for the world.—*Swift.* One of the greatest knaves even in Scotland.

MR. [WILLIAM] CARSTAIRS.

Macky. He is the cunningest, subtle dissembler in the world, with an air of sincerity, a dangerous enemy, because always hid. An instance of which was Secretary Johnstoun, to whom he pretended friendship, till the very morning he gave him a blow, though he had been worming him out of the King's favour for many months before; he is a fat, sanguine-complexioned fair man, always smiling, where he designs most mischief, a good friend when he is sincere; turned of 50 years old.—*Swift.* A true character; but not strong enough by a fiftieth part.

JOHN, EARL OF MAR.

Macky. He is a very good manager in his private affairs, which were in disorder when his father died, and is a stanch countryman, fair complexioned, low stature, and 30 years old. —*Swift.* He is crooked; he seemed to me to be a gentleman of good sense and good nature.

ANDREW FLETCHER, OF SALTON.

Macky. A gentleman of a fair estate in Scotland, attended with the improvement of a good education. . . . He hath written some excellent tracts, but not published in his name; and hath a very fine genius; is a low, thin man, brown complexion, full of fire, with a stern, sour look, and 50 years old.—*Swift.* A most arrogant, conceited pedant in politics; cannot endure the least contradiction in any of his visions or paradoxes.

CHARLES, EARL OF MIDDLETON.

Macky. He is one of the politest gentlemen in Europe; hath a great deal of wit, mixed with a sound judgment, and a very

clear understanding; of an easy, indifferent access, but a less way of living. . . . He is a black man, of a middle st with a sanguine complexion; and one of the pleasantest panions in the world. Towards 60 years old.—*Swif* William Temple told me, he was a very valuable man, good scholar. I once saw him.

DAVID, EARL OF WEEMS.

Macky. He hath not yet been in the administration; is personage, and very beautiful; hath good sense, and is of honour. About 30 years old.—*Swift.* He was a man, and handsome for a Scot.

NOTE.—The characters on the Duke of Shrewsbury, the D Devonshire, the Earl of Ranelagh, and Rear-Admiral Byng, hav entirely omitted. The first is not given by Reed, and includes ir the single word "none"; the second is not given either by B Reed, but appears only in "The Crypt"; the third is given c Nichols; and the last is not given by Birch or Reed.

REMARKS

ON

LORD CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION

OXFORD EDITION, 1707, 3 VOLS.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN ST. PATRICK'S LIBRARY.

NOTE.

THE text of this edition of Swift's notes on Clarendon has been founded on the careful transcript made by Mr. Percy Fitzgerald. This transcript is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Mr. Fitzgerald refers to Dr. Rowan's collation, but I have been unable to find the original of this. Rowan's additions, however, were noted by Mr. Fitzgerald, and they have been included here. Mr. Fitzgerald says: "Scott's notes, subject to the corrections just given [by himself], are correct, and would serve as the base of the new edition. The additions I have given and the few given by Dr. Rowan (which are given here a little further on) will have to be inserted in their proper places and will make the whole complete." This has been done, and the present reprint is a very careful following out of this suggestion.

After the following pages were in type, however, I have had the opportunity, through the kindness of Dr. Bernard, the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, of examining the original copy in the Marsh Library at Dublin. Assisted by the Rev. Newport J. D. White, the librarian of the Marsh Library, I have been able to correct several of Mr. Percy Fitzgerald's transcripts, and to add some "remarks" omitted both by him and Scott.

Mr. White, in an article in "Hermathena" (No. xxvii., 1901), suggests that the successive perusals by Swift account "for the fact that some of the notes are in ink, though most are in pencil; while in one or two cases Swift seems to have retraced in ink a remark originally in pencil." Although Swift finished his fourth reading of the "History" in 1741, it is undoubted that he had already annotated the volumes at a much earlier date. The copy of the "History," now in the Marsh Library, was presented to it by Archbishop King, though the exact date of this presentation can only be guessed. "In the register of benefactions," writes Mr. White in "Hermathena," "the first list, which was evidently written at one time and by one hand, contains the names of all books presented by King. Two of these were published as late as 1723. The next entry is dated April 12th, 1726. It is probable, therefore, that these volumes came into their present abode between 1723 and 1726. As Dean of St. Patrick's, Swift was one of the governors of the library, and in that capacity attended many of the annual visitations between 1718 and 1736. It is natural to suppose that he was a constant reader." It follows, therefore, that Swift borrowed the volumes from the library for his re-perusal; and perhaps retraced his annotations at that time and added new ones.

It is worth while to reprint a sentence from Scott's note on these "Remarks" of Swift's, if only to continue a record of retort against Swift's intemperance of feeling against the Scottish nation: "The ludicrous virulence of his execrations against the Scottish nation, go a great way to remove the effect of his censure; and a native of Scotland may be justified in retaining them, were it but for that reason."

[T. S.]

REMARKS ON CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION.

VOL. I.

ON the first board: Finished the 4th time, April 18, 1741. Judicium de authore.[1]

The cursed, hellish villainy, treachery, treasons of the Scots, were the chief grounds and causes of that execrable rebellion.—*Swift.*

"The word of a king." This phrase is repeated some hundred times; but is ever foolish, and too often false.—*Swift.*

PREFACE.

P. v. [p. xxi.[2]] *Clarendon.* We might give instances . . . of those points . . . which have brought the prince, sometimes, under the disadvantageous suspicion of being inclined to the love of arbitrary power.—*Swift.* What king doth not love, and endeavour at it?

P. vi. [p. xxii.] *Clarendon.* The people may not always be restrained from attempting by force to do themselves right, though they ought not.—*Swift.* They *ought!*

BOOK I.

P. 9. [par. 12.] *Clarendon.* All men being inhibited, by the proclamation at the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth

[1] The note "Finished the 4th time April 18, 1741," which Scott and Fitzgerald record as written on the first board of vol. i., is not now to be traced, the volume having been rebound since their transcripts were made.

[2] The references in square brackets apply to the recent Oxford edition of Clarendon's "Rebellion" (6 vols., cr. 8vo, 1888). The prefaces can only be referred to by the page, but throughout the body of the work the *paragraphs* are separately numbered for each book. [T. S.]

year, so much as to mention or speak as if a Parliament should be called.—*Swift.* Great weakness.

P. 47. [par. 128.] *Clarendon.* He [the Earl of Montgomery] had not sat many years in that sunshine, when a new comet appeared in court, Robert Carr, a Scotsman, quickly after declared favourite.—*Swift.* A Scottish king makes a Scottish favourite.

P. 48. [par. 133.] *Clarendon.* The Earl of Carlisle . . . wrought himself into . . . greater affection and esteem with the whole English nation, than any other of that country; by choosing their friendships, and conversation, and really preferring it to any of his own.—*Swift.* A miracle in a Scot!

P. 58. [par. 159.] *Clarendon.* During the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new, and extraordinary ways were run, that is, from the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year, to the beginning of this Parliament, which was above twelve years, this kingdom . . . enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people in any age, for so long time together, have been blessed with.—*Swift.* Partial.

P. 59. [par. 162.] *Clarendon.* The kingdoms, we now lament, were alone looked upon as the garden of the world; Scotland (which was but the wilderness of that garden), etc.—*Swift.* The *dunghill!*

Ibid. [par. 163.] *Clarendon.* Those rough courses, which made him [the King] perhaps less loved at home, made him more feared abroad; by how much the power of kingdoms is more reverenced than their justice by their neighbours: and it may be this consideration might not be the least motive, and may not be the worst excuse for those counsels.—*Swift.* Too arbitrary.

P. 60. [par. 163.] *Clarendon.* Nerva was deified for uniting, *Imperium et Libertas.*—*Swift.* "Libertas" underlined and "*nego*" written in the margin.

Ibid. [par. 165.] *Clarendon.* Wise men knew that that which looked like pride in some, would, etc. [Swift places a condemnatory pencil mark beneath "that."]

P. 75. [par. 201.] *Clarendon.* A book so full of good learning,[1] [*i.e.*, Bp. John Williams (of Lincoln) against Innovations in Religion].—*Swift.* Is that book to be bought or borrowed?

Book II.

P. 88. [par. 18.] *Clarendon.* There was so little curiosity either in the court, or the country, to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was

[1] Again referred to on p. 271. *See* Scott's note *in loco* (p. 297). [T. S.]

solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany, and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette.—*Swift.* Should Bridewell news be in any gazette?

P. 88. [par 18.] *Clarendon.* The people [the Scotch] after they had once begun, pursued the business vigorously, and with all imaginable contempt of the government.—*Swift.* Scottish scoundrels!

P. 94. [par. 38.] *Clarendon,* in the address of the Scots to the King:—Lamenting "their ill fortune that their enemies had so great credit with the King, as to persuade him to believe that they were or could be disobedient to him, a thing that could never enter into their loyal hearts."—*Swift.* Scotch dogs!

Ibid. [par. 39.] *Clarendon.* Into Scotland . . . as far as a place called Dunce.—*Swift.* "Dunce" underlined.

P. 95. [par. 42.] *Clarendon.* The Covenanters . . . were very reasonably exalted with this success, [the retreat of the Earl of Holland from Dunse,] and scattered their letters abroad amongst the noblemen at court, according to the humours of the men to whom they writ.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots for ever!

P. 96. [par. 46.] *Clarendon,* speaking of the Marquess of Hamilton.—*Swift.* A cursed true Scot!

P. 100. [par. 55] *Clarendon.* The Scots got so much benefit and advantage by it [the treaty of pacification], that they brought all their other mischievous devices to pass, with ease.—*Swift.* Confounded Scots!

P. 101. [par. 58.] Marginal note to Clarendon: The Earl of Argyle joins with the Covenanters, notwithstanding his great obligations to the King.—*Swift.* All Argyles, cursed Scottish hell-hounds for ever!

P. 103. [par. 60.] *Clarendon,* on the letter from the Scotch nobility to the French King, which was intercepted, and upon Lord Lowden, in his examination:—refusing to give any other answer, than that it was writ before the agreement . . . and never sent; that if he had committed any offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland, and not in England.—*Swift.* Scottish traitors!

Ibid. [par. 61.] *Clarendon.* The opinion of the prejudice and general aversion over the whole kingdom to the Scots, and the indignation they had at their presumption in their design of invading England, made it believed that a Parliament would express a very sharp sense of their insolence and carriage towards the King.—*Swift.* Cursed hellish Scots for ever!

P. 104. [par. 62.] *Clarendon,* on the calling together of the Parliament in 1640:—The King . . . directed the lord-keeper to issue out writs for the meeting of a Parliament upon the third

day of April then next ensuing.—*Swift.* April 3d for knaves; the 1st for fools!

P. 114. [par. 90.] *Clarendon.* The Scots army . . . were always beaten.—*Swift.* "Always beaten" trebly underlined.

P. 116. [par. 97.] *Clarendon.* The convocation-house (the regular and legal assembling of the clergy) customarily beginning and ending with Parliaments, was, after the determination of the last, by a new writ continued.—*Swift.* Convocations of the clergy are as legal and as necessary as those of the laity.

P. 122. [par. 108.] *Clarendon,* on the commissioners who met at Ripon:—When these commissioners from the King arrived at Ripon, there came others from the Scots army of a quality much inferior.—*Swift.* A cursed committee!

Ibid. [par. 108.] *Clarendon.* Alexander Henderson.—*Swift.* A cursed fanatic! (Written in pencil, and partially rubbed out.)

P. 123. [par. 109.] *Clarendon.* There was not a man of all the English, etc.—*Swift.* Cursed hellish Scots!

P. 124. [par. 111.] *Clarendon.* They brought them with them and presented them to the King. [Swift underscores *them.*]

Ibid. [par. 113.] *Clarendon.* Three of the commissioners, and no more, were of the King's council, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland.—*Swift.* Bad counsellors.

P. 125. [par. 116.] *Clarendon.* The commissioners at Ripon quickly agreed upon the cessation; and were not unwilling to have allowed fifty thousand pounds a month for the support of the Scots army, when they did assign but thirty thousand pounds a month for the payment of the King's.—*Swift.* Greedy Scotch rebellious dogs.

P. 129. [par. 126.] *Clarendon.* It must not be doubted that there were many particular persons of honour of that nation who abhorred the outrages which were committed.—*Swift.* I doubt it; for they were Scots.

P. 130. [par. 128.] *Clarendon.* It can hardly be conceived, with what entire confidence in each other, the numerous and *not very rich* nobility of Scotland . . . concurred in the carrying on this rebellion.—*Swift.* Beggarly, beggarly!

BOOK III.

P. 148. [par. 32.] *Clarendon.* Mr. Saint-John . . . a natural son of the house of Bullingbrook.—*Swift.* A bastard.

P. 151. [par. 38.] *Clarendon.* The Earl of Rothes . . . was a man very well bred, of very good parts, and great address. —*Swift.* A Scotch freethinker.

P. 152. [par. 42.] *Clarendon,* on the order of the Houses of

Parliament, to use the appellation of "our brethren of Scotland" towards the Scotch commissioners.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots, brethren in iniquity.

P. 153. [par. 44.] *Clarendon.* The allegation was, "That the charge against the Earl of Strafford was of an extraordinary nature, being to make a treason evident out of a complication of several ill acts; That he must be traced through many dark paths," etc.—*Swift.* As a boy.

Ibid. [par. 45.] *Clarendon.* It was alleged, "That at his coming from Ireland the Earl had said in council there; That if ever he returned to that sword again, he would not leave a Scottishman in that kingdom."—*Swift.* And it was a good resolution.

P. 153. [par. 45.] *Clarendon.* —— "And at his arrival in this kingdom; the lord mayor and some aldermen of London attending the board about the loan of moneys, and not giving that satisfaction was expected, that he should . . . tell the King, That it would never be well till he hanged up a Lord Mayor of London in the City to terrify the rest."—*Swift.* At worst, only a rash expression.

P. 155. [par. 50.] *Clarendon.* Hereupon, in one day, were sworn privy-councillors, much to the public joy, the Earl of Hertford (whom the King afterwards made marquess), the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Bristol, the Lord Say, the Lord Saville, and the Lord Kimbolton; and within two or three days after, the Earl of Warwick.—*Swift.* All [*rogues*, perhaps,[1]] but the first.

P. 161. [par. 67.] *Clarendon*, on the method of procuring signatures to one petition, and then cutting them off, and affixing them to a petition of quite a different tendency.—*Swift.* Dogs, villains; almost as bad as the cursed Scots.

P. 166. [par. 85.] *Clarendon.* The Earl of Bedford prevailed with the King . . . to make Oliver Saint-John . . . his solicitor-general; which His Majesty readily consented to: . . . being a gentleman of an honourable extraction (if he had been legitimate).—*Swift.* The bastard before mentioned.

P. 183. [par. 140.] *Clarendon*, trial of Strafford:—Mr. Solicitor Saint-John . . . argued for the space of near an hour the matter of law. Of the argument itself I shall say little, it being in print, and in many hands; I shall only remember two notable propositions, which are sufficient characters of the person and the time.—*Swift.* Bp. A[tterbury].

P. 187. [par. 156.] *Clarendon*, on the bill for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, etc.—Though the rejecting it, was earnestly urged by very many; . . . yet, all the other people,

[1] P. Fitzgerald says [*sworn*, more likely]. [T. S.]

as violently pressed the reading it; and none so importunately, as Saint-John.—*Swift.* The bastard!

P. 195. [par. 179.] *Clarendon.* It being always their custom, when they found the heat and distemper of the House (which they endeavoured to keep up, by the sharp mention and remembrance of former grievances and pressures) in any degree allayed, by some gracious act, or gracious profession of the King's, to warm and inflame them again with a discovery, or promise of a discovery, of some notable plot and conspiracy against themselves. —*Swift.* King George I.'s reign.

P. 199. [par. 189.] *Clarendon.* Whereas some doubts, etc.—*Swift.* True Popish evasion.

Ibid. Clarendon, on the explanation of the Protestation for the Church of England:—concerning the meaning of these words . . . "*viz.* The true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine," This House doth declare, that by those words, was and is meant, only the public doctrine professed in the said Church, so far as it is opposite to Popery, etc.—*Swift.* Fanatic dogs!

P. 202. [par. 198.] *Clarendon.* The Archbishop of York.—*Swift.* Williams, before of Lincoln.

Ibid. [par. 200.] *Clarendon,* on the letter of Strafford to the King, persuading him no longer to delay the order for his execution.—*Swift.* Great magnanimity!

P. 203. [par. 201.] *Clarendon.* The delivery of this letter being quickly known, new arguments were applied; "that this free consent of his own, clearly absolved the King from any scruple that could remain with him."—*Swift.* Weak, and wrong.

Ibid. [par. 202.] *Clarendon.* There was reason enough to believe, their impious hands would be lifted up against his own person, and (which he much more apprehended) against the person of his royal consort.—*Swift.* A most unhappy marriage.

P. 204. [par. 206.] *Clarendon.* Together with that of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, another Bill was passed by the King, of almost as fatal a consequence both to the King and kingdom, . . . "the Act for the perpetual Parliament;" as it is since called. —*Swift.* Cursed stupidity! *Hinc illae lachrymae.*

P. 205. [par. 207.] *Clarendon.* No way could be thought of so sure, as an Act of Parliament, "that this Parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by Act of Parliament; which, upon this occasion, His Majesty would never deny to pass."—*Swift.* The fatal stroke.

Ibid. [par. 210.] *Clarendon,* on the King's passing this Bill. —*Swift.* I wish the author had enlarged here upon what motives the King passed that Bill.

P. 205. [par. 210.] *Clarendon*, on the same.—*Swift.* The King by this act utterly ruined.

P. 207. [par. 217.] *Clarendon*, on the passing of the tonnage and poundage bill :—And so in expectation and confidence, that they would make glorious additions to the state and revenue of the crown, His Majesty suffered himself to be stripped of all that he had left.—*Swift.* Great weakness in the King.

P. 225. [par. 271.] *Clarendon.* These Acts of Parliament, etc. . . . will be acknowledged, by an incorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of the King's princely and fatherly affection to his people.—*Swift.* Rather of his weakness.

BOOK IV.

P. 237. [par. 24.] *Clarendon.* A general insurrection of the Irish, spread itself over the whole country ; in such an inhumane and barbarous manner, that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants murdered.—*Swift.* At least.

P. 243. [par. 43.] *Clarendon.* That which should have been an act of oblivion, was made a defence and justification of whatsoever they [the Scotch] had done.—*Swift.* Scot, Scot, Scot, for ever Scot.

P. 244. [par. 47.] *Clarendon.* His Majesty having never received any considerable profit from Scotland, etc.—*Swift.* How could he, from Scottish rebels and beggars?

P. 245. [par. 47.] *Clarendon.* Surely he had then very hard thoughts of a great part of the nation [the Scotch].—*Swift.* Who can doubt of it?

P. 257. [par. 87.] *Clarendon.* The propositions made from Scotland, "for the sending ten thousand men from thence, into Ulster, to be paid by the Parliament," were consented to ; whereby some soldiers were dispatched thither, to defend their own plantation ; and did in truth, at our charge, as much oppress the English that were there, as the rebels could have done.—*Swift.* Send cursed rebel Scots, who oppressed the English in that kingdom as the Irish rebels did, and were governors of that province, etc.

P. 271. [par. 130.] *Clarendon*, Doctor Williams, Archbishop of York :—had himself published, by his own authority, a book against the using those ceremonies [which were countenanced by Laud], in which there was much good learning, and too little gravity for a bishop.—*Swift.* Where is that book to be had? [1]

[1] The book is extant, and was written in answer to Dr. Heylin's "Coal from the Altar." Even the title-page contains a punning allusion to his adversary's work, rather too facetious for the subject of his own. It is entitled "The Holy Table, name and thing, more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of Altar :

P. 272. [par. 130.] *Clarendon*, Archbishop Williams:—appeared to be a man of a very corrupt nature, whose passions could have transported him into the most unjustifiable actions.—*Swift.* This character I think too severe.

P. 275. [par. 138.] *Clarendon*, the same:—The great hatred of this man's person and behaviour, was the greatest invitation to the House of Commons so irregularly to revive that Bill to remove the bishops.—*Swift.* How came he to be so hated by that faction he is so said to favour?

P. 277. [par. 140.] *Clarendon*, petition and protestation of the bishops.—*Swift.* I see no fault in this protestation.

P. 280. [par. 149.] *Clarendon*, on the articles of high treason against Lord Kimbolton, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haslerigg, and Strode.—*Swift.* It proved a long and vexatious affair.

P. 281. [par. 152.] *Clarendon.* The next day in the afternoon, the King . . . came to the House of Commons. . . . Himself, with his nephew, the Prince Elector, went into the House, to the great amazement of all.—*Swift.* Too rash and indiscreet; the second great and fatal error.

P. 282. [par. 152.] *Clarendon.* He assured them in the word of a King, etc.—*Swift.* Never to be relied upon.

P. 284. [par. 157.] *Clarendon.* The King . . . published, the next day, a proclamation, for the apprehension of all those, whom he had accused of high treason, forbidding any person to harbour them; the articles of their charge being likewise printed, and dispersed.—*Swift.* A very weak and wrong proceeding in the King, which had very bad consequences.

Ibid. Clarendon, on the same proceeding.—*Swift.* What was their crime?

P. 322. [par. 264.] *Clarendon.* The humble petition of many thousands of poor people in and about the city of London.—*Swift.* Who was the author?

P. 334. [par. 302.] *Clarendon*, on the King's passing the bills against the bishops' votes, and about pressing.—*Swift.* Too great a weakness, and attended by a heap of gross follies.

P. 336. [par. 307.] *Clarendon*, on:—An Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament for the ordering of the Militia of the kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales.—*Swift.* The most ruinous consequence of the King's weakness and cowardice.

Book V.

P. 364. [par. 6.] *Clarendon*, in the King's Declaration, March 9, 164$\frac{1}{2}$:—For the Lord Digby, he assured them in the word of a King, etc.—*Swift.* I cannot endure that phrase any more.

Written long ago by a minister in Lincolnshire, in answer to D. Coal, a judicious divine of Q. Marie's dayes." 1637. [S.]

P. 365. [par. 9.] *Clarendon*, in the same:—What greate earnest of his trust, and reliance on his Parliament could he give, than the passing the Bill for the continuance of this present Parliament?—*Swift.* Like a very weak prince.

Ibid. Clarendon, in the same:—The length of which [Parliament] he said, he hoped, would never alter the nature of Parliaments, and the constitution of this kingdom; or invite his subjects so much to abuse his confidence, as to esteem anything fit for this Parliament to do, which were not fit, if it were in his power to dissolve it to-morrow.—*Swift.* Yet, that was his ruin.

P. 366. [par. 11.] *Clarendon.* The factious party [persuaded the people]... that there was a design to send the prince beyond the seas, and to marry him to some Papist.—*Swift.* As it fell out.

P. 384. [par. 56.] *Clarendon*, in the King's answer to the petition to remove the magazine from Hull:—We have . . . most solemnly promised, in the word of a king, etc.—*Swift.* How long is that phrase to last?

P. 415. [par. 136.] *Clarendon.* Whoever concurred, voted, and sided with them, in their extravagant conclusions, let the infamy of his former life, or present practice be what it would; his injustice and oppression never so scandalous, and notorious; he was received, countenanced, and protected with marvellous demonstrations of affection.—*Swift.* King George's reign.

P. 419. [par. 148.] *Clarendon*, in the King's answer to the petition to dissolve his Guards:—He asked them, "when they had so many months together not contented themselves to rely for security, as their predecessors had done, upon the affection of the people, but by their own single authority had raised to themselves a guard . . . and yet all those pikes and protestations, that army, on one side, and that navy, on the other, had not persuaded His Majesty to command them to disband their forces," etc.—*Swift.* What are those pikes?

P. 427. [par. 162.] *Clarendon*, in the Declaration of the Lords and Commons, May 19, 1642:—That, in the word of a King, etc.—*Swift.* A frequent foolish word, battered as a phrase.

P. 472. [par. 269.] *Clarendon.* He divested himself of the power of dissolving this Parliament.—*Swift.* Proved his ruin.

P. 543. [par. 425.] *Clarendon*, on the deposition of Sir Richard Gurney, lord mayor.—*Swift.* Dogs!

VOL. II.—BOOK VI.

P. 7. [par. 11.] *Clarendon*, Message of the King, Aug. 25th, 1642:—"Wherein, as we promise, in the word of a King, all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto us . . . for the treaty."—*Swift.* Very weak.

P. 10. [par. 18.] *Clarendon*, answer of the Parliament to the

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King's message received the 5th of September, 1642.—*Swift.* I do not much dislike this answer.

P. 17. [par. 38.] *Clarendon.* The same rabble entered the house of the Countess of Rivers near Colchester; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in few hours disfurnished it of all the goods.—*Swift.* As bad as Scots.

P. 18. [par. 40.] *Clarendon.* There are monuments enough in the seditious sermons at that time printed . . . of such wresting, and perverting of Scripture to the odious purposes of the preacher.—*Swift.* I wish I could find them.

P. 20. [par. 43.] *Clarendon.* Scottish officers.—*Swift.* Dogs.

P. 31. [par. 74.] *Clarendon.* A thousand at the most. Most of the persons of quality, etc. [Swift underscores *most.*]

P. 33. [par. 78.] *Clarendon,* on the exemption of Prince Rupert from being under the command of the general, Lord Lindsey:—When the King at midnight, being in his bed, and receiving intelligence of the enemy's motion, commanded the Lord Falkland, his principal secretary of state, to direct Prince Rupert, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord Falkland, for giving him orders.—*Swift.* A great mistake in the King, by too much indulgence to Prince Rupert.

P. 40. [par. 90.] *Clarendon.* The King's preferring the Prince's [Rupert's] opinion in all matters relating to the war before his [Lord Lindsey's].—*Swift.* I blame the King's Partiality.

P. 48, line 28. *Swift.* Cursed Scots.

P. 50. [par. 109.] *Clarendon.* His Majesty had, from time to time, given his council of that kingdom [Scotland] full relations of all his differences with his Parliament.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots for ever.

P. 51. [par. 112.] *Clarendon.* The chief managers and governors in the first war, by their late intercourse, and communication of guilt, having a firm correspondence with the Marquess of Argyle, the Earl of Lowden, and that party.—*Swift.* Always a cursed family of Scots.

P. 59. [par. 142.] *Clarendon.* As the inviting the Scots, etc. —*Swift.* Too long a parenthesis.

P. 62. [par. 154.] *Clarendon.* For the better recruiting whereof [the Parliament's army], two of their most eminent chaplains, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshal, publicly avowed, "that the soldiers lately taken prisoners at Brentford, and discharged, and released by the King upon their oaths that they would never again bear arms against him, were not obliged by that oath;" but, by their power, absolved them thereof.—*Swift.* Perfect Popery.

P. 65. [par. 161.] *Clarendon,* the King's message to the privy council of Scotland:—"Of all . . . the . . . indignities, which

had been offered to him, he doubted not the duty and affection of his Scottish subjects would have so just a resentment, that they would express to the world the sense they had of his sufferings."—*Swift.* Cursed Scots ; to trust them.

P. 66. [par. 163.] *Clarendon*, the same :—"There could not be a clearer argument to his subjects of Scotland that he had no such thought, [of bringing in foreign forces,] than that he had hitherto forborne to require the assistance of that his native kingdom ; from whose obedience, duty, and affection, he should confidently expect it, if he thought his own strength here too weak to preserve him."—*Swift.* In vain. *Clarendon.* "And of whose courage, and loyalty, he should look to make use."—*Swift.* And never find.

Ibid. [par. 164.] *Clarendon*, the same :—"He could not doubt, a dutiful concurrence in his subjects of Scotland, in the care of his honour, and just rights, would draw down a blessing upon that nation too."—*Swift.* A Scot's blessing.

P. 67. [par. 165.] *Clarendon.* Other fruit of their [the Scots'] allegiance he [the King] expected not, than that they should not rebel.—*Swift.* But they did.

P. 81. [par. 204.] *Clarendon*, the King's declaration :—"These are the men who . . . at this time invite, and solicit our subjects of Scotland, to enter this land with an army against us."—*Swift.* Damnable Scots.

P. 91. [par. 231, sec. 4.] *Clarendon*, humble desires and propositions of the Lords and Commons :—"That your Majesty will be pleased to give your royal assent unto the Bill . . . for the utter abolishing, and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, sub-deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons, and prebendaries, and all chanters, chancellors, treasurers, sub-treasurers, succentors, and sacrists, and all vicars choral, choristers, old vicars, and new vicars of any cathedral, or collegiate church, and all other their under officers, out of the Church of England."—*Swift.* A thorough sweep. *Clarendon.* "To the Bill against scandalous ministers ; to the Bill against pluralities ; and to the Bill for consultation to be had with godly, religious, and learned divines."—*Swift. I.e.* cursed fanatics.

P. 99. [par. 243.] *Clarendon.* Sir Ralph Hopton . . . marched to Saltash, a town in Cornwall . . . where was a garrison of two hundred Scots ; who, [upon his approach,] as kindly quit Saltash, as the others had Launceston before.—*Swift.* Loyal Scots—ever cursed.

P. 101. [par. 247.] *Clarendon.* Ruthen, a Scotchman, the governor of Plymouth.—*Swift.* A cursed Scottish dog.

P. 103. [par. 250.] *Clarendon.* The Earl of Stamford.—*Swift.* A rogue, half as bad as a Scot.

P. 134. [par. 338.] *Clarendon*, Petition of the Kirk of Scotland:—"A chief praise of the Protestant religion (and thereby our not vain, but just gloriation)."—*Swift.* Scotch phrase.

Ibid. Clarendon, the same:—"[The Papists] are openly declared to be not only good subjects, . . . but far better subjects than Protestants."—*Swift.* Scotch (Protestants).

P. 135. [par. 339.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"That your Majesty . . . may timeously and speedily," etc.—*Swift.* Scotch.

Ibid. [par. 340.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"We are, with greater earnestness than before, constrained *to fall down again* before your Majesty."—*Swift.* Rise against.

Ibid. Clarendon, the same. They petition:—"for a meeting of some divines to be holden in England, unto which . . . some commissioners may be sent from this *kirk*."—*Swift.* Hell!

P. 136. [par. 342.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"The strongest let, till it be taken out of the way, is the mountain of prelacy."—*Swift.* Scottish dogs.

Ibid. Clarendon, the same:—"How many, from the experience of the tyranny of the prelates, are afraid to discover themselves . . . whereas prelacy being removed, they would openly profess what they are, and join with *others* in the way of reformation."—*Swift. I.e.* Scots.

Ibid. [par. 344.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"The national assembly of this kirk, from which we have our commission."—*Swift.* From Satan.

P. 138. [par. 347.] *Clarendon*, the King's answer:—"Our Church of Scotland."—*Swift.* Kirk.

P. 139. [par. 348.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"We do believe that the petitioners, when they shall consider how . . . unbecoming [it is] in itself, for them to require, the ancient, happy, and established government of the Church of England to be altered, and conformed to the laws, and constitutions of *another church*, will find themselves misled," etc.—*Swift.* A Scotch kirk.

P. 140. [par. 351.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"To which [synod] we shall be willing that some learned divines of our Church of Scotland may be likewise sent."—*Swift.* To confound all.

P. 142. [par. 356.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"We conceived, we had not left it possible, for any man to . . . suspect, that the conversion of *our dearest consort* was not so much our desire, that the accession of as many crowns as God hath already bestowed on us, would not be more welcome to us than that day."—*Swift.* A thorough Papist.

Book VII.

P. 199. [par. 71.] *Clarendon.* Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tom-

kins, Mr. Chaloner, . . . Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the King, etc.—*Swift.* Which Hambden? Not the rebel Hambden? No, it was one Alexander Hambden.

P. 201. [par. 75.] *Clarendon.* In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation, who had served in Germany and in France, betook themselves to the service of the Parliament.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots for ever. *Clarendon.* Whereof divers were men of good conduct, and courage; though there were more as bad as the cause, in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel Hurry was a man of name, and reputation. —*Swift.* A miracle! Colonel Urrie was an honest, valiant, loyal Scot, repenting his mistakes.

P. 203. [par. 78.] *Clarendon.* The man [Hurry] was in his nature proud, and imperious.—*Swift.* A mixture of the Scot.

P. 219. [par. 106.] *Clarendon.* On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick wood.—*Swift.* Silly style.

P. 244. [par. 162.] *Clarendon.* "We, the Inhabitants, Magistrates," etc.—*Swift.* Cursed rogues.

P. 261. [par. 199.] *Clarendon.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman . . . of a fair and plentiful fortune.—*Swift.* Earl of Shaftesbury by Charles II. A great villain.

P. 262. [par. 199.] *Clarendon.* The flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature, not being then understood, or suspected.—*Swift.* Shaftesbury, an early rogue.

Ibid. [par. 200.] *Clarendon.* The express returned without effect [from the King], and the Marquess [of Hertford] was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit with the King," etc.—*Swift.* Too fond of those nephews.

P. 271. [par. 221.] *Clarendon.* [Lord Falkland] writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that [the Roman Catholic] religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.—*Swift.* Ten thousand pities that they are not to be recovered!

P. 277. [par. 234.] *Clarendon.* Thus fell that incomparable young man, [Lord Falkland,] in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the true business of life, that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency: Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.—*Swift.* It moves grief to the highest excess.

P. 277. [par. 236.] *Clarendon*, on the jealousy between Essex and Waller:—The passion and animosity which difference of opinion had produced between any members, was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe, that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their brethren the Scots.—*Swift.* Deceitful Scots.

P. 282. [par. 246.] *Clarendon.* Earl of Holland.—*Swift.* Treacherous.

P. 283. [par. 247.] *Clarendon*, the Earl of Holland, on his return from Oxford, published a Declaration, in which he announced:—that he found the court so indisposed to peace . . . that he resolved to make what haste he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the remainder of his life in their service: which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, etc.—*Swift.* Treachery.

Ibid. [par. 249.] *Clarendon.* The committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into Scotland in July before . . . found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception, that they had called an assembly of their kirk, and a convention of their estates, without, and expressly against, the King's consent.—*Swift.* Diabolical Scots for ever.

P. 284. [par. 250.] *Clarendon*, the Scotch said to the English commissioners:—that there were many well-wishers to him [the King], and maligners, in their hearts, of the present reformation.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots.

Ibid. [par. 252.] *Clarendon.* A form of words was quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and *marriage* between the Parliament and the Scots.—*Swift.* Satan was parson.

P. 285. [par. 254.] *Clarendon.* The Assembly, besides . . . execute his commands. [19 lines in one sentence.]—*Swift.* A long confounding period.

P. 288. [par. 259, sec. 3.] *Clarendon.* A Solemn League and Covenant. "To preserve . . . liberties of the Kingdoms."—*Swift.* Damnable rebel Scots.

Ibid. [sec. 6.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"And the honour of the King."—*Swift.* By martyrdom.

P. 289. [par. 259, conclusion.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"We have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel."—*Swift.* All very true.

P. 291. [par. 264.] *Clarendon.* They very devoutly extolled the Covenant, magnified the Scottish nation, with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, . . . a nation that had reformed their lives for so small a time, more than ever any people, that they knew of, in the world had done.—*Swift.* Most diabolical Scots.

P. 292. [par. 267.] *Clarendon.* [Sir Harry Vane the younger.] There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen, and deceive a whole nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning.—*Swift.* Could out-cheat a Scot.

P. 293. [par. 269.] *Clarendon.* Those of the nobility and gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke Hamilton.—*Swift.* That duke was a hellish, treacherous villain of a Scot.

P. 316. [par. 322.] *Clarendon.* At this time, nothing troubled the King so much, as the intelligence he received from Scotland, that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots.

Ibid., line 37. *Swift.* Scottish Dogs.

P. 318. [par. 328.] *Clarendon*, on the proclamation for a Parliament at Oxford :—A proclamation was issued out, containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league of Scotland to invade the kingdom; which was the most universally odious, and detestable.—*Swift.* Hellish Scots.

P. 339. [par. 373.] *Clarendon*, Letter from the Parliament of Oxford to the Earl of Essex. They conjure him to lay to heart:—"the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation."—*Swift.* Cursed Scotland.

P. 340. [par. 377.] *Clarendon*, Essex's answer to the Earl of Forth.—*Swift.* Essex was a cursed rebel.

P. 341. [par. 379.] *Clarendon*, on the Declaration of the Scots on entering England.—*Swift.* Abominable, damnable, Scotch hellish dogs for ever. Let them wait for Cromwell to plague them, and enslave their scabby nation.

Ibid. [par. 380.] *Clarendon*, the same:—They said, "the question was not, . . . whether they might propagate their religion by arms?" etc.—*Swift.* Diabolical Scots for ever.

P. 342. [par. 383.] *Clarendon.* This war was of God.—*Swift.* An error mistaking the Devil for God.

Ibid. [par. 384.] *Clarendon*, Declaration of England and Scotland:—They gave now "public warning to all men to rest no longer upon their neutrality, . . . but that they address themselves speedily to take the Covenant."—*Swift.* The Devil made that damnable Scots Covenant.

P. 343. [par. 385.] *Clarendon.* Then they proclaimed a pardon to all those who would before such a day desert the King, and adhere to them, and take the Covenant.—*Swift.* The Devil to take the Covenant.

Ibid. [par. 386.] *Clarendon.* I cannot but observe, that after this time that the Earl [of Essex] declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous act in the remainder of his life.—*Swift.* I am heartily glad of that.

P. 343. [par. 388.] *Clarendon.* There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much in that popular road, of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see, that they did, in plain *English*, refuse to admit of any peace.—*Swift.* Scotch.

P. 347. [par. 398, sec. 2.] *Clarendon*, Declaration of the Parliament at Oxford:—"All his Majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, are both by their allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland as had, or should enter upon any part of his Majesty's realm."—*Swift.* Execrable Scots.

P. 348. [*ibid.*, sec. 5.] *Clarendon*, the same:—"That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster, who had given their consents to the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had therein committed high treason."—*Swift.* Rebel Scots.

Ibid. [par. 400.] *Clarendon.* The invasion, which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his Majesty even of any rest in that season.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots, ever inflaming.

P. 351. [par. 404.] *Clarendon.* The Earl of Montrose . . . was so much in the jealousy, and detestation of the violent party, whereof the *Earl of Argyle* was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.—*Swift.* Odious dog; and so are all his descendants.

Ibid. [par. 405.] *Clarendon.* Duke Hamilton.—*Swift.* An arrant Scot.

Ibid. Clarendon. As soon as the King had had fuller intelligence. [Swift alters the second *had* to *received.*]

P. 352. [par. 407.] *Clarendon.* The Duke [Hamilton] had given the King an account, . . . that though some few hot, and passionate men, desired to put themselves in arms, to stop both elections of the Members, and any meeting together in Parliament; yet, that all sober men . . . were clearly of the opinion, to take as much pains as they could to cause good elections to be made.—*Swift.* What! in Scotland?

P. 353. [par. 409.] *Clarendon.* About this time the councils at Westminster lost a principal supporter, by the death of John Pym; who died with great torment and agony of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, as was reported.—*Swift.* I wish all his clan had died of the same disease.

Book VIII.

P. 382. [par. 60.] *Clarendon.* Colonel Ashburnham, then governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command;

. . . and, to make way for him, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the King's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the Parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. —*Swift.* A rogue all his life.

P. 385. [par. 66.] *Clarendon*, at Cropredy-bridge :—the [parliamentary] general of their ordnance [was] taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the King, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master-gunner of England, . . . and having never done the King the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him.—*Swift.* A cursed, hellish Scot! Why was not the rogue hanged?

P. 387. [par. 69.] *Clarendon*, Message from the King to the parliamentary army :—It was agreed, that Sir Edward Walker (who was both Garter king at arms, and secretary to the council of war) should be sent to publish that, his Majesty's grace.—*Swift.* A very mean author.

P. 388. [par. 74.] *Clarendon*, Battle of Marston-moor :—That party of the King's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together.—*Swift.* I am glad of that.

P. 420. [par. 153.] *Clarendon.* Colonel Hurry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the Parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the King, . . . desired a pass to go beyond the seas, and so quitted the service: but instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the Earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's army.—*Swift.* Mentioned before, and then I was deceived by him; but now I find him a cursed true Scot.

P. 427. [par. 167.] *Clarendon.* After the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle; which they had already done; and all other garrisons which had held out for the King. —*Swift.* Most damnable Scots.

Ibid. [par. 168.] *Clarendon.* The King's army was less united than ever; the old general was set aside, and Prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change.—*Swift.* Too fond of his nephews.

Ibid. [par. 169.] *Clarendon.* Wilmot loved debauchery.— *Swift.* Character of Wilmot and Goring.

P. 453. [par. 233.] *Clarendon*, Treaty at Uxbridge: Debates about the militia. They insisted :—upon having the whole command of the militia by sea, and land, and all the forts, and ships of the kingdom at their disposal; without which they

looked upon themselves as lost, and at the King's mercy; not considering that he must be at theirs, if such a power was committed to them.—*Swift.* The case seems doubtful. The point should be undecided.

P. 454. [par. 235.] *Clarendon*, the same: Ireland. The Chancellor of the Exchequer:—put them in mind, . . . [that] one hundred thousand pounds, brought in by the adventurers for Ireland, had been sent in one entire sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and dispose that kingdom to send an army to invade this.—*Swift.* Cursed.

P. 456. [On this page two *ands* are erased.]

P. 457. [par. 241.] *Clarendon.* The conversation . . . made a great discovery of the faction that was in the Parliament . . . that the Scots would insist *upon* the whole government of the Church, and in all other matters would *defer* to the King. —*Swift.* [Instead of *upon*,] to destroy; [and instead of *defer*,] to betray.

Ibid. [par. 242.] *Clarendon.* Satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the Church, the Scots would never depart from a tittle.—*Swift.* Scots hell-hounds.

P. 466. [par. 262.] *Clarendon.* After the battle at York, . . . the Scotch army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons remaining in those parts; which was easily done.—*Swift.* Scottish dogs.

Ibid. [par. 263.] *Clarendon.* The person whom that earl [of Montrose] most hated, and contemned, was the Marquess of Argyle.—*Swift.* A most damnable false dog, and so are still their family.

P. 478. [par. 284.] *Clarendon.* The Parliament had, some months before, made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be taken prisoners. . . . The Earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had as often as he met with any Irish frigates, . . . taken all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea.—*Swift.* Barbarous villains, and rebels.

Book IX.

P. 484. [par. 2.] *Clarendon.* Persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than that the infamy of them should be laid on the age wherein they lived; which did produce as many men, eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the crown, as any that had preceded it.—*Swift.* Not quite.

P. 485. [par. 4.] *Clarendon.* The Marquess of Argyle was now come from Scotland.—*Swift.* A cursed Scotch hell-hound.

P. 501. [par. 29.] *Clarendon.* Prince Rupert . . . disposed the King to resolve to march northwards, and to fall upon the Scotch army in Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to perfect his new model to that degree, as to take the field.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots still.

P. 516. [par. 55.] *Clarendon,* on Sir Richard Greenvil hanging an attorney named Brabant, as a spy, out of private revenge. —*Swift.* This rogue would almost be a perfect Scot.

P. 521. [par. 63.] *Clarendon.* (The which had been already so scandalous, . . . contribution.) [6½ lines between parentheses.] —*Swift.* Long parenthesis.

P. 574. [par. 164.] *Clarendon.* The King . . . resolved once more to try another way, . . . [whereby] he should discover, whether he had so many friends in the Parliament, and the city, as many men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him service.—*Swift.* No more than Beelzebub.

P. 579. [par. 175.] *Clarendon.* Monsieur Montrevil [was sent] into England: . . . who likewise persuaded his Majesty, to believe . . . that the cardinal was well assured, that the Scots would behave themselves henceforwards very honestly.—*Swift.* Damnable Scots.

P. 580. [par. 176.] *Clarendon.* The Scots were resolved to have *no more* to do with his Majesty.—*Swift.* Gave up the King.

VOLUME III.

On the bastard title: That frequent expression,—*upon the word of a king,* I have always despised and detested, for a thousand reasons.

Dedication, 21st par. [vol. I., p. li., edit. of 1888.] *Clarendon.* Some very near that King . . . putting him on the thoughts of marrying some Roman Catholic lady.—*Swift.* As he did.

BOOK X.

P. 2. [par. 2.] *Clarendon.* Sir Dudley Wyat had been sent expressly from the Lord Jermin, to assure the prince, that such a body of five thousand foot were actually raised under the command of *Ruvignie,* and should be embarked for Pendennis within less than a month.—*Swift.* Father to Lord Galloway; a Huguenot.

P. 6. [par. 11.] *Clarendon,* Upon the Queen's hearing that the King had gone to the Scots army, she:—renewed her command for the prince's immediate repair into France; whereas

the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the Scots' hands.—*Swift.* He could not do worse.

P. 7. [par. 12.] *Clarendon.* The King . . . was by this time known to be in the Scots army.—*Swift.* And these hell-hounds sold him to the rebels.

P. 11. [par. 21.] *Clarendon.* [The Scots] had pressed the King to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict guards upon his Majesty, . . . so that his Majesty looked upon himself as a prisoner.—*Swift.* The cursed Scots begin their new treachery.

P. 14. [par. 27.] *Clarendon,* on "the paper Montrevil sent to the King, being a promise for the Scots receiving the King, Apr. 1."—*Swift.* Montrevil might as safely promise for Satan as for the Scots.

Ibid. [par. 28.] *Clarendon,* on Montrevil's advertising the King of the change in the Scotch.—*Swift.* Will Montrevil trust them again?

P. 15. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* [The Scots] with much ado agreed, that the two princes [Rupert and Maurice] . . . might follow the King, with such other of his servants as were not excepted from pardon.—*Swift.* And why those? Because the Scots were part of the rebels.

P. 16. [par. 30.] *Clarendon,* in a letter from Montrevil:—"They tell me that they will do more than can be expressed."—*Swift.* So the Scots did, and with a vengeance.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon,* in the same:—"The hindering his Majesty from falling into the hands of the English is of so great importance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they will do all that lies in their power to hinder it."—*Swift.* By delivering him up for money. Hellish Scottish dogs!

Ibid. [par. 31.] *Clarendon.* If he [Montrevil] were too sanguine . . . when he signed that engagement upon the first of April, etc.—*Swift.* April fool!

P. 17. [par. 33.] *Clarendon.* In this perplexity, he [the King] chose rather to commit himself to the Scots army.—*Swift.* To be delivered up for money.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* He left Oxford, . . . leaving those of his council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scots army, etc.—*Swift.* Which would betray him, though his countrymen.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* [The King,][1] in the end, went into the Scots army before Newark.—*Swift.* Prodigious weakness, to trust the malicious Scotch hell-hounds.

[1] The words quoted are the side-note, which is not printed in the edition of 1888. [T. S.]

P. 17. [par. 34.] *Clarendon.* The Scottish commissioners at London [assured the Parliament] . . . that all their orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their army.—*Swift.* No doubt of it.

P. 18. [par. 35.] *Clarendon,* in the text of the sermon preached at Newark before the King :—"And all *the men of Judah* answered the men of Israel, Because the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter?"—*Swift.* Scotch, (opposite to Judah).

P. 21. [par. 41.] *Clarendon,* Lord Digby and Lord Jermin said :—that there should be an army of thirty thousand men immediately transported into England, with the Prince of Wales in the head of them.—*Swift.* Gasconade.

P. 23. [par. 50.] *Clarendon.* The Parliament made many sharp instances that the King might be delivered into their hands; and that the Scots army would return into their own country, having done what they were sent for, and the war being at an end.—*Swift.* By the event they proved true Scots.

Ibid. [par. 51.] *Clarendon.* [The Scots] made as great profession to him [the King,] of their duty and good purposes, which they said they would manifest as soon as it should be *seasonable.*—*Swift.* See the event ;—still Scots.

Ibid. [par. 52.] *Clarendon,* the Marquess of Montrose.—*Swift.* The only honest Scot.

P. 24. [par. 53.] *Clarendon.* [It] is still believed, that if his Majesty would have been induced to have satisfied them in that particular [the extirpation of Episcopacy in England,] they would . . . thereupon have declared for the King.—*Swift.* Rather declare for the Devil.

P. 26. [par. 60.] *Clarendon.* When the Scots, etc.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots.

P. 27. [par. 62.] *Clarendon.* That all Governors of any Garrisons, etc.—*Swift.* Cursed, abominable, hellish, Scottish villains, everlasting traitors, etc., etc., etc.

P. 28. [par. 64.] *Clarendon.* The Scots, who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church . . . used all the rude importunity and threats to his Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all.—*Swift.* Most damnable Scots.

Ibid. [par. 65.] *Clarendon.* The Chancellor of Scotland told him, etc.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots Chancellor.[this remark obliterated].

Ibid. [par. 66.] *Clarendon.* The General Assembly . . . had petitioned the conservators of the peace of the kingdom, that if the King should refuse to give satisfaction to his Parliament, he might not be permitted to come into Scotland.—*Swift.* Scots inspired by Beelzebub.

P. 29. [par. 68.] *Clarendon.* They agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the Scots delivered the King up.—*Swift.* Cursed Scot! sold his King for a groat. Hellish Scots.

Ibid. [par. 69.] *Clarendon.* In this infamous manner that excellent prince was . . . given up, by his Scots subjects, to those of his English who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive him.—*Swift.* From this period the English Parliament were turned into Scotch devils.

P. 31. [par. 76.] *Clarendon,* Sir Harry Killigrew :—When the Earl of Essex was chosen general, and the several members of the House stood up, and declared, what horse they would raise, . . . one saying he would raise ten horses, and another twenty, he stood up and said, "he would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause;" and so went out of the House, and rode post into Cornwall.—*Swift.* Another loyall man used the like saying.

P. 53. [par. 118.] *Clarendon.* Many years after, when he [the Duke of York] . . . made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of spirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; [speaking of the King's injunctions to the duke].—*Swift.* Yet he lived and died a rank Papist, and lost his kingdom.

P. 55. [par. 121.] *Clarendon.* No men were fuller of professions of duty [to the King], . . . than the Scottish commissioners.—*Swift.* The Scots dogs delivered up their King. False-hearted Scots. [This addition obliterated.]

Ibid. [par. 122.] *Clarendon.* The agitators, and council of officers, sent some propositions to the King.—*Swift.* Detestable villains, almost as bad as Scots.

P. 64. [par. 136.] *Clarendon.* Mr. Ashburnham had so great a detestation of the Scots.—*Swift.* So have I.

P. 68. [par. 144.] *Clarendon.* Hammond.—*Swift.* A detes Villain, almost as wicked as a Scot.

P. 76. [par. 159.] *Clarendon,* Marquess of Argyle.—*Swift.* Always a cursed family.

P. 77. [par. 159.] *Clarendon.* The commissioners . . . were confident that all Scotland would rise as one man for his Majesty's defence and vindication.—*Swift.* A strange stupidity, to trust Scots at any time.

Ibid. [par. 160.] *Clarendon.* They required . . . "that the Prince of Wales should be present with them, and march in the head of their army." . . . The King would by no means consent that the prince should go into Scotland.—*Swift.* The King acted wisely not to trust the Scots.

P. 79. [par. 162.] *Clarendon*, Treaty signed, Dec. 26, 1647. They (the Scotch) required :—that an effectual course should be taken . . . for the suppressing the opinions and practices of anti-trinitarians, arians, socinians, anti-scripturists, anabaptists, antinomians, arminians, familists, brownists, separatists, independents, libertines, and seekers.—*Swift.* What a medley of religions ! in all thirteen.

P. 80. [par. 163.] *Clarendon*, the same:—They would assert the right that belonged to the crown, in the power of the militia, the great seal, bestowing of honours and offices of trust, choice of the privy-councillors, and the right of the King's negative voice in Parliament.—*Swift.* They would rather be hanged than agree.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon*, the same:—An army should be sent out of Scotland . . . for making a firm union between the kingdoms under his Majesty, and his posterity.—*Swift.* Scotch impudence.

P. 81. [par. 165.] *Clarendon*, the same:—The King engaged himself to employ those of the Scots nation equally with the English in all foreign employments, and negotiations ; and that a third part of all the offices and places about the King, Queen, and Prince, should be conferred upon some persons of that nation.—*Swift.* Impudent Scottish scoundrels.

P. 83. [par. 169.] *Clarendon.* The Presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations, and affections of the people.—*Swift.* Hellish Scotch dogs.

P. 85. [par. 171.] *Clarendon.* With this universal applause, he [Fairfax] compelled the Scots army to depart the kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous.—*Swift.* He out-cunninged the Scots.

P. 86. [par. 172.] *Clarendon.* But the delivery of the King up, besides the infamy of it, etc.—*Swift.* That infamy is in the scurvy nature of a *Scot*, and the best . . . of their false hearts. [Written in pencil and rubbed out—one word is illegible.]

P. 89. [par. 179.] *Clarendon.* The vile artifices of the Scottish commissioners to draw the King into their hands.—*Swift.* Vile, treacherous Scots for ever.

Book XI.

P. 97. [par. 13.] *Clarendon*, on the discourses against the English in the Scottish Parliament:—This discourse . . . was entertained by the rest with so general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpose directly to contradict or oppose it.—*Swift.* An infamous dog, like all his family.

P. 108. [par. 35.] *Clarendon.* The Prince [Charles II.] set sail

first for Yarmouth road, then for the Downs; having sent his brother, the Duke of York, with all his family, to The Hague.—*Swift.* A sorry admiral.

P. 109. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* The Prince determining to engage his own person, he [the Duke] submitted to the determination. —*Swift.* Popery and cowardice stuck with him all his life.

Ibid. [par. 36.] *Clarendon.* The Prince came prepared . . . to depend wholly upon the Presbyterian party, which, besides the power of the *Scots army*, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be possessed of all the strength of the City of London.—*Swift.* Curse on the rogues!

Ibid. [same par.] *Clarendon.* Sent from the Scots.[1]—*Swift.* So much the worse to rely on the cursed Scots.

P. 112. [par. 43.] *Clarendon.* Argyle took notice of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's, and Sir Philip Musgrave's being in the town.—*Swift.* That Scotch dog.

P. 113. [par. 45.] *Clarendon.* They entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant.—*Swift.* Their damned Covenant.

P. 117. [par. 53.] *Clarendon.* Sir Philip Musgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, etc.— *Swift.* Confound their damnable Covenant!

P. 129. [par. 85.] *Clarendon.* Defeat of the Scots army.—*Swift.* I cannot be sorry.

Ibid. [pars. 86, 87.] *Clarendon*, after the defeat of the Scottish army, the Earl of Lauderdale had been sent to The Hague. The Prince of Wales:—thought fit, that the earl should give an account of his commission at the board; . . . and, that all respect might be shewed to the Parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to sit upon.—*Swift.* Respect to a Scotch Parliament, with a pox.

P. 130. [par. 87.] *Clarendon.* Redeem His Majesty's person from that captivity; which they held themselves obliged . . . to endeavour to do.—*Swift.* Not to do.

P. 133. [par. 96.] *Clarendon.* Within a short time after, orders were sent out of Scotland for the delivery of Berwick and Carlisle to the Parliament.—*Swift.* Cursed Scots.

Ibid. [par. 98.] *Clarendon.* It was generally believed, that the Marquess of Argyle earnestly invited him [Cromwell] to this progress [into Scotland].—*Swift.* That eternal dog, Argyle.

P. 141. [par. 114.] *Clarendon.* By the time that the commissioners returned from the Isle of Wight, and delivered this answer to the Parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scots army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, etc.—*Swift.* A cursed hell-hound.

[1] The words are "sent from thence" in edition of 1888. [T. S.]

P. 142. [par. 116.] *Clarendon.* When there appeared some hopes that the Scots would raise an army for the relief and release of the King.—*Swift.* Trust them not, for they are Scots.

P. 145. [par. 120.] *Clarendon.* And himself a prisoner.—*Swift.* Base.

P. 155. [par. 141.] *Clarendon.* The Duke [of York], who was not yet above fifteen years of age, was so far from desiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a proposition, upon occasion of a sudden mutiny amongst the seamen, that he should go . . . amongst them, who professed great duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it. —*Swift.* The Duke's courage was always doubtful.

P. 157. [par. 146.] *Clarendon.* (Many persons of honour . . . the rest had done.)—*Swift.* Parenthesis eleven lines.

P. 167. [par. 169.] *Clarendon.* Two of them [the ministers] very plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if he did not consent to the utter abolishing of the Episcopacy, he would be damned."—*Swift.* Very civil.

P. 168. [par. 172.] *Clarendon.* [The King] did, with much reluctancy, offer . . . "to suspend Episcopacy for three years," etc. —*Swift.* Prudent concessions.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon*, he consented :—likewise, "that money should be raised upon the sale of the Church lands, and only the old rent should be reserved to the just owners and their successors."—*Swift.* Scotch principles.

Ibid. [par. 173.] *Clarendon.* They required farther, "that in all cases, when the Lords and Commons shall declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, unless the King give his royal assent to such a Bill as shall be tendered to him for raising money, the Bill shall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given his royal assent."—*Swift.* English dogs, as bad as Scots.

P. 170. [par. 176.] *Clarendon*, on the King's concessions.— *Swift.* After so many concessions, the commissioners shewed themselves most damnable villains.

P. 172. [par. 181.] *Clarendon.* [The King] confessed, "If they would preserve the Scripture Bishop he would take away the Bishop by Law."—*Swift.* Indeed ! a great concession.

P. 174. [par. 187.] *Clarendon.* For Scotland, they demanded "the King's consent, to confirm by Act of Parliament such agreements as should be made by both Houses with that kingdom . . . for the settling and preserving a happy and durable peace between the two nations, and for the mutual defence of each other."—*Swift.* A most diabolical alliance.

P. 175. [par. 189.] *Clarendon*, on the letter from the King to his son, concerning the treaty.—*Swift.* The whole letter is a most excellent performance.

P. 176. [par. 189.] *Clarendon.* The major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of *the army*, they would have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them.—*Swift.* Diabolical villains.

P. 177. [par. 193.] *Clarendon.* It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he [the King] should have made his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither.—*Swift.* French villains.

P. 180. [par. 198.] *Clarendon*, the Commons sent to Winchester:—their well tried Serjeant Wild, to be the sole judge of that circuit.—*Swift.* An infernal dog.

Ibid. [par. 200.] *Clarendon.* Young Sir Harry Vane had begun the debate [upon the treaty] with the highest insolence, and provocation.—*Swift.* A cursed insolent villain, worse than even a Scot, or his own father.

P. 183. [par. 206.] *Clarendon*, on the seizure of many Members entering into the House, by the soldiers.—*Swift.* Damnable proceeding.

P. 184. [ditto.] *Clarendon*, the remaining Members vote the contrary to their former votes:—that the answer the King had given to their propositions was not satisfactory.—*Swift.* Cursed rogues.

P. 189. [par. 221.] *Clarendon.* Harrison was the son of a butcher.—*Swift.* The fitter for that office.

P. 195. [par. 233.] *Clarendon*, Trial of the King:—The King . . . told them, "he would first know of them, by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable to none but God."—*Swift.* Very weak.

P. 198. [par. 241.] *Clarendon.* [The King] was always a great lover of the Scottish nation.—*Swift.* There I differ from him.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* Having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always.—*Swift.* Who were the cause of his destruction, like abominable Scotch dogs.

P. 199. [par. 244.] *Clarendon.* In that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects . . . as any of his predecessors.—*Swift.* Only common pity for his death, and the manner of it.

P. 208. [par. 261.] *Clarendon*, Lord Capel's trial:—*Cromwell*, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe.—*Swift.* Cursed dog.

Book XII.

P. 217. [par. 4.] *Clarendon*, Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland :—upon condition of "his good behaviour, and strict observation of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation."—*Swift.* Cursed Scots in every circumstance.

Ibid. [par. 5.] *Clarendon.* The new Duke [of Hamilton].—*Swift.* A Scotch duke, celebrated by the author: a perfect miracle.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* A rare virtue in the men of that time. —*Swift.* [Of that] nation.

P. 218. [par. 7.] *Clarendon*, on the commission sent to England when the King was tried :—The Marquess of Argyle had had too deep a share in that wickedness [the delivery of the King], to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that subject ; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion [of the Scots].—*Swift.* A true Argyle.

Ibid. [continuation of the same sentence.] *Clarendon.* But seemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to prosecute an high expostulation with those of England, for the breach of faith, and the promises, which had been made for the safety, and preservation of the King's person, at the time he was delivered up.—*Swift.* The Scots were the cause and chief instruments of the King's murder by delivering him up to the English rebels.

P. 222. [par. 13.] *Clarendon.* It was very manifest . . . that the Marquess of Argyle meant only to satisfy the people, in declaring that they had a King . . . but that such conditions should be put upon him, as he knew, he would not submit to.—*Swift.* Most detestable villain.

P. 224. [par. 17.] *Clarendon.* As soon as he came into the room where they were.—*Swift.* Abominable Scotch dogs.

P. 225. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* A learned and worthy Scottish divine, Dr. Wishart.—*Swift.* A prodigious rarity.

Ibid. [par. 18.] *Clarendon.* The Earl [of Lauderdale] told him [one of the council] . . . that he could not imagine, or conceive the barbarities and inhumanities Montrose was guilty of, in the time he made a war in Scotland.—*Swift.* That earl was a beast ; I mean Lauderdale.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* That he [Montrose] had in one battle killed fifteen hundred of one family, of the Campbells, of the blood and name of Argyle.—*Swift.* Not half enough of that execrable breed.

P. 228. [par. 24.] *Clarendon*, for the embassy from the Parliament :—one Dorislaus, a doctor in the civil law, was named. —*Swift.* A Dutch fellow, employed by those regicides who murdered the King.

P. 237. [par. 41.] *Clarendon.* The Prince of Orange . . . wished, "that, in regard of the great differences which were in England about matters of religion, the King would offer . . . to refer all matters in controversy concerning religion to a national synod." —*Swift.* I do not approve it.

P. 249. [par. 69.] *Clarendon,* on the defeat of the Marquess of Ormonde by Jones.—*Swift.* Ormonde's army discomfited!

P. 265. [par. 119.] *Clarendon.* And that Committee of the Parliament.—*Swift.* Scots.

Ibid. [par. 119.] *Clarendon.* The council of Scotland . . . sent a gentleman . . . to invite his Majesty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive.—*Swift.* Still cursed Scots.

P. 267. [par. 122.] *Clarendon,* on the conditions sent from Scotland to Breda, in case the King consented to come to Scotland :—The King himself, and all who should attend upon him, were first to sign the Covenant before they should be admitted to enter into the kingdom.—*Swift.* Damnable Scottish dogs.

P. 268. [par. 125.] *Clarendon,* some lords warned the King, that it was to be feared that :—Argyle would immediately deliver up the person of the King into the hands of Cromwell.—*Swift.* That Scotch dog was likely enough to do so, and much worse.

Ibid. [par. 126.] *Clarendon,* the ambassadors in Spain :—were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a strong aversion that the King should ever venture himself in the hands of that party of the Scottish nation, which had treated his father so perfidiously.—*Swift.* Damnable nation for ever.

P. 269. [par. 127.] *Clarendon.* [The King] was before [in Spain] looked upon as being dispossessed, and disinherited of all his dominions, as if he had no more subjects than those few who were banished with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the rest. But now that he was possessed of one whole kingdom, etc.—*Swift.* Yet all cursed villains; a possession of the Devil's kingdom, where every Scot was a rebel.

Ibid. [par. 128.] *Clarendon.* There fell out at this time . . . an accident of such a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the King should once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his Majesty from that northern expedition; which, how unsecure soever it appeared to be for the King, was predestinated for a greater chastisement and mortification of that people, as it shortly after proved to be: [alluding to Montrose's execution.]—*Swift.* That is good news.

P. 270. [par. 128.] *Clarendon.* The Marquess [of Montrose], who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of success.—*Swift.* He was the only man in Scotland who had ever

one grain of virtue; and was therefore abhorred, and murdered publicly by his hellish countrymen.

P. 270. [par. 129.] *Clarendon.* There were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottish nation.—*Swift.* Impossible.

P. 271. [par. 130.] *Clarendon.* Montrose knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable enemies.—*Swift.* Very certain.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* The whole kirk . . . being alike malicious to him.—*Swift.* Scots damnable kirk.

P. 272. [par. 131]. *Clarendon.* Many of [the nobility]... assured him [Montrose], that they would meet him with good numbers; and they did prepare to do so, some really; and others, with a purpose to betray him.—*Swift.* Much the greater number.

Ibid. [par. 133.] *Clarendon.* The tyranny of Argyle . . . caused very many to be barbarously murdered, without any form of law or justice, who had been in arms with Montrose.—*Swift.* That perpetual inhuman dog and traitor, and all his posterity, to a man, damnable villains.

P. 273. [par. 134.] *Clarendon.* Most of the other officers were shortly after taken prisoners, all the country desiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all those into his hands which they believed to be his enemies.—*Swift.* The virtue and morality of the Scots.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* And thus, whether *by the owner of the house*, or any other way, the Marquess himself became their prisoner.—*Swift.* A tyrannical Scottish dog.

P. 274. [par. 137.] *Clarendon.* "That for the League and Covenant, he had never taken it," etc.—*Swift.* The Devil, their God, I believe had taken it. [This remark is nearly obliterated.]

Ibid. [par. 138.] *Clarendon,* sentence on Montrose:—That he was . . . to be carried to Edinburgh Cross, and there to be hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, etc.—*Swift* Oh! if the whole nation, to a man, were just so treated! begin with Argyle, and next with the fanatic dogs who teased him with their kirk scurrilities.

Ibid. [par. 139.] *Clarendon.* After many such barbarities, they [the ministers] offered to intercede for him to the kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him.—*Swift.* Most treacherous, damnable, infernal Scots for ever!

P. 275. [par. 140.] *Clarendon.* He bore it [the execution] with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greatest piety, that a good Christian could manifest.—*Swift.* A perfect hero; wholly un-Scotified.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* [He] prayed, "that they might not betray him [the King], as they had done his father."—*Swift.* A very seasonable prayer, but never performed.

P. 275. [par. 142.] *Clarendon.* The Marquess of Argyle . . . wanted nothing but *honesty and courage* to be a very extraordinary man.—*Swift.* Trifles to a Scot.

P. 276. [par. 143.] *Clarendon.* They who were most displeased with Argyle and his faction, were not sorry for this inhuman, and monstrous prosecution [of Montrose].—*Swift.* Impudent, lying Scottish dogs.

Book XIII.

P. 285. [par. 1.] *Clarendon.* Without he likewise consented to those.—*Swift.* Bad.

P. 286. [par. 3.] *Clarendon.* The King was received by the Marquess of Argyle with all the outward respect imaginable.—*Swift.* That dog of all Scotch dogs.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* They did immediately banish him [Daniel O'Neill] the kingdom, and obliged him to sign a paper, by which he consented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.—*Swift.* In Scotland, with a pox.

P. 287. [par. 5.] *Clarendon.* The King's table was well served. —*Swift.* With Scotch food, etc. etc. etc.

P. 300. [par. 36.] *Clarendon.* The King had left . . . the Duke of York with the Queen, with direction "that he should conform himself entirely to the will and pleasure of the Queen his mother, matters of religion only excepted."—*Swift.* Yet lost his kingdom for the sake of Popery.

P. 301. [par. 37.] *Clarendon.* The Duke [of York] was full of spirit and courage, and naturally loved designs.—*Swift. Quantum mutatus!*

P. 304. [par. 42.] *Clarendon,* on the proposed match between the Duke of York, and the Duke of Lorraine's natural daughter:—Only Sir George Ratcliffe undertook to speak to him about it, who could only make himself understood in Latin, which the Duke cared not to speak in.—*Swift.* Because he was illiterate, and only read Popish Latin.

P. 305. [par. 44.] *Clarendon.* [The Queen] bid him [the chancellor of the exchequer] "assure the Duke of York, that he should have a free exercise of his religion, as he had before."—*Swift.* Who unkinged himself for Popery.

P. 306. [par. 45.] *Clarendon.* It was indeed the common discourse there [in Holland], "that the Protestants of the Church of England could never do the King service, but that all his hopes must be in the Roman Catholics, and the Presbyterians." —*Swift.* A blessed pair.

Ibid. [par. 46.] *Clarendon.* [The Duke of York] was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error.—*Swift.* No, not when he lost his kingdom or Popery.

P. 311. [par. 58.] *Clarendon.* The King had . . . friendship with Duke Hamilton.—*Swift. Vix intelligo.*

P. 318. [par. 75.] *Clarendon,* the King's defeat at Worcester, 3d of September.—*Swift.* September 3d, always lucky to Cromwell.

P. 339. [par. 122.] *Clarendon.* There was no need of spurs to be employed to incite the Duke [of York]; who was most impatient to be in the army.—*Swift.* How old was he when he turned a Papist, and a coward?

P. 340. [par. 123.] *Clarendon.* The Duke pressed it [his being allowed to join the army] with earnestness and passion, in which he dissembled not.—*Swift. Dubitat Augustinus.*

P. 343. [par. 128.] *Clarendon,* the Duke, in the French army:—got the reputation of a prince of very signal courage, and to be universally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour. —*Swift.* But proved a cowardly Popish king.

P. 348, line 50. *Swift.* Scots.

P. 349. [par. 140.] *Clarendon.* The chancellor . . . told his Majesty, "this trust would for ever deprive him of all hope of the Queen's favour; who could not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the frequent resort of the Scottish vicar [one Knox, who came with Middleton to Paris,] to him" (who had the vanity to desire long conferences with him) "that there was some secret in hand which was kept from her."—*Swift.* The little Scottish scoundrel, conceited vicar.

BOOK XIV.

P. 386. [par. 41.] *Clarendon.* Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the strict government of Monk.—*Swift.* I am glad of that.

P. 387. [par. 44.] *Clarendon.* The day of their meeting [Cromwell's Parliament] was the third of September in the year 1654. —*Swift.* His lucky day.

P. 394. [par. 56.] *Clarendon.* The Highlanders . . . made frequent incursions in the night into the English quarters; and killed many of their soldiers, but stole more of their horses.—*Swift.* Rank Scottish thieves.

P. 413. [par. 95.] *Clarendon.* A bold person to publish, etc.—*Swift.* Bussy Rabutin, Amours des Gaules.

P. 414. [par. 96.] *Clarendon.* There was at that time in the court of France, or rather in the jealousy of that court, a lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; [to whom Charles II. made an offer of marriage].—*Swift.* A prostitute whore.

P. 420. [par. 109.] *Clarendon.* The chancellor of the exchequer

one day . . . desired him [the king] "to consider upon this news, and importunity from Scotland, whether in those Highlands there might not be such a safe retreat and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the affections of that people, which had been always firm both to his father and himself, he might preserve himself in safety, though he could not hope to make any advance."—*Swift.* The chancellor never thought so well of the Scots before.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon.* His Majesty discoursed very calmly of that country, . . . "that, if sickness did not destroy him, which he had reason to expect from the ill accommodation he must be there contented with, he should in a short time be betrayed and given up."—*Swift.* But the King knew them better.

P. 425. [par. 118.] *Clarendon.* [The King's enemies] persuaded many in England, and especially of those of the reformed religion abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist.—*Swift.* Which was true.

P. 443.[1] *Clarendon.* The wretch [Manning], soon after, received the reward due to his treason.—*Swift.* In what manner?

BOOK XV.

P. 469. [par. 53.] *Clarendon.* That which made a noise indeed, and crowned his [Cromwell's] successes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard. —*Swift.* I wish he were alive, for the dogs the Spaniards' sake, instead of our worthless H——.

P. 495. [par. 119, sec. 3.] *Clarendon,* in the address of the Anabaptists to the King:—"We . . . humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would engage your royal word never to erect, nor suffer to be erected, any such tyrannical, Popish, and Antichristian hierarchy (Episcopal, Presbyterian, or by what name soever it be called) as shall assume a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the consciences of others.—*Swift.* Honest, though fanatics.

P. 501. [par. 136.] *Clarendon,* at the siege of Dunkirk:—Marshal Turenne, accompanied with the Duke of York, who would never be absent upon those occasions, . . . spent two or three days in viewing the line round.—*Swift.* James II., a fool and a coward.

P. 502. [par. 137.] *Clarendon.* There was a rumour . . . that the Duke of York was taken prisoner by the English, . . . whereupon many of the French officers, and gentlemen, resolved to set him at liberty; . . . So great an affection that nation owned to have for his Highness.—*Swift.* Yet he lived and died a coward.

[1] This sentence, which follows at the end of par. 146, is omitted in the edition of 1888. [T. S.]

Book XVI.

P. 523. [par. 29.] *Clarendon*, on the discovery of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis.—*Swift.* Doubtful.

P. 539. [par. 47.[1]] *Clarendon.* If it had not been for the King's own *steadiness.*—*Swift.* Of which, in religion, he never had any.

P. 540. [par. 75.] *Clarendon*, upon the Duke of York's being invited into Spain, with the office of El Admirante del Oceano, he was warned that he :—would never be suffered to go to sea under any title of command, till he first changed his religion.—*Swift.* As he did openly in England.

P. 559. [par. 131.] *Clarendon.* There being scarce a bon-fire at which they did not roast a rump.—*Swift.* The *Rump.*

P. 583. [par. 194.] *Clarendon*, Declaration of the King, April $\frac{4}{14}$, 1660 :—"Let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King," etc.—*Swift.* Usually good for nothing.

Ibid. [ditto.] *Clarendon*, the same :—"A free Parliament ; by which, upon the word of a King, we will be advised."—*Swift.* Provided he be an honest and sincere man.

P. 585. [par. 199.] *Clarendon*, Letter to the fleet :—"Which gives us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the wounds by the same plaster that made the flesh raw."—*Swift.* A very low comparison.

P. 586. [par. 201.] *Clarendon*, Letter to the city of London :—"Their affections to us in the city of London ; which hath exceedingly raised our spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of God, and His extraordinary mercy to the nation ; which hath been encouraged by you, and your good example . . . to discountenance the imaginations of those who would subject our subjects to a government they have not yet devised."—*Swift.* Cacofonia.

P. 595. [par. 222.] *Clarendon*, Proclamation of the King, May 8, by the Parliament, Lord Mayor, etc. :—"We . . . acknowledge, . . . that . . . he [Charles II.] is of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent, mighty, and undoubted King ; and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige ourselves, our heirs, and posterity for ever."—*Swift.* Can they oblige their posterity 10,000 years to come?

P. 596. [par. 225]. *Clarendon*, The case of Colonel Ingoldsby : After he had refused to sign the death-warrant of the King :—Cromwell, and others, held him by violence ; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ Richard Ingoldsby he making all the resistance he could.—*Swift.* A mistake ; for it was his own hand-writ, without any restraint.

[1] This was par. 74 in the edition of 1849. [T. S.]

REMARKS

ON

"BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY OF ['SCOTLAND IN'—*SWIFT*] HIS OWN TIME,"

FOLIO EDITION, 1724-34.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE LIBRARY OF THE LATE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE.

NOTE.

THE standard edition of Burnet's interesting "History" is that by Dr. Routh, first issued in 1823 and revised in a second edition in 1833. Mr. Osmund Airy is at present engaged on a new edition for the Clarendon Press, but so far only two volumes have been published. It was in Dr. Routh's edition that almost all of Swift's notes first appeared. In the Preface to the issue of 1823, the learned editor informs us that Swift's notes were taken "from his own copy of the history, which had come into the possession of the first Marquis of Lansdowne." A note in the edition of 1833 corrects a statement made in the previous edition that Swift's copy had been burnt. It was not Swift's own copy, but a copy containing a transcript of Swift's notes that was burnt.

In the preparation of the present text every available reference has been searched. Sir Walter Scott's reprint of Swift's "Notes" was sadly inadequate. Not only did he misquote the references to Burnet's work, but he could not have consulted the Lansdowne copy, since fully a third of the "notes" were altogether ignored by him. It is believed that the text here given contains every note accurately placed to its proper account in Burnet's "History." The references are to the edition in folio issued in 1724-1734.

In the twenty-seventh volume of the "European Magazine," and in the two following volumes, a fair proportion of Swift's notes were first published. These were reprinted by Dr. Burnet in 1808, in his "Essay on the Earlier Part of the Life of Swift." Both these authorities have been consulted. Dr. Routh's modesty forbade him including six of the notes, because they were "not written with the requisite decorum." These have been included here. Mr. Osmund Airy has "thought it unadvisable to encumber the pages with simple terms of abuse"; but an editor of Swift's works cannot permit himself this licence. His duty is to include everything.

The text of the "Short Remarks" is taken from vol. viii., Part I., of the quarto edition of Swift's works, edited by Deane Swift, and published in 1765.

[T. S.]

SHORT REMARKS

ON

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

THIS author is in most particulars the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often Scotch, and often such as are used by the meanest people.[1] He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His secret history is generally made up of coffeehouse scandals, or at best from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parson of forty pounds a year. He was a

[1] "His own opinion," says my predecessor, Mr. Nichols, "was very different, as appears by the original MS. of his History, wherein the following lines are legible, though among those which were ordered not to be printed: 'And if I have arrived at any faculty of writing clearly and correctly, I owe that entirely to them [Tillotson and Lloyd]. For as they joined with Wilkins, in that noble, though despised attempt, of an *universal character*, and a philosophical language; they took great pains to observe all the common errors of language in general, and of ours in particular. And in the drawing the tables for that work, which was Lloyd's province, he looked further into a natural purity and simplicity of style, than any man I ever knew; into all which he led me, and so helped me to any measure of exactness of writing, which may be thought to belong to me.' The above was originally designed to have followed the words, 'I know from them,' vol. i. p. 191, l. 7, fol. ed. near the end of A.D. 1661." [S.]

gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch earl to marry him.[1] His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting,[2] except of those who were friends to the Presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false; for the first book that I believe he ever published is an entire treatise in favour of passive obedience and absolute power; so that his reflections on the clergy, for asserting, and then changing those principles, come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart; I am sure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papist and fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called "A History of Scotland during the Author's Time, with some Digressions relating to England," rather than deserve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or Parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution; which, however, is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten last years, was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw Popery under

[1] Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Cassilis. [S.]

[2] A note in Swift's Works, vol. ix., pt. ii. [1775] says: After "detracting," add "Many of which were stricken through with his own hand, but left legible in the MS.; which he ordered, in his last will, 'his executor to print faithfully, as he left it, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular.' In the second volume, Judge Burnet, the Bishop's son and executor, promises that 'the original manuscript of both volumes shall be deposited in the Cotton Library.' But this promise does not appear to have been fulfilled; at least it certainly was not in 1736, when two letters were printed, addressed to Thomas Burnet, Esq. In p. 8 of the Second Letter, the writer [Philip Beach] asserted, that he had in his own possession 'an authentic and complete collection of the castrated passages.'" [T. S.]

every bush. He hath told me many passages not mentioned in this history, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential point, that the person was tender to Dissenters, and thought many things in the Church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, laying down for a maxim, clapt up, decency, and some other words and phrases, he uses many hundred times.

Cut out for a court, a pardoning planet, clapt up, left in the lurch, the mob, outed, a great beauty, went roundly to work: All these phrases used by the vulgar, shew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

REMARKS ON BURNET'S HISTORY OF HIS OWN TIME.

PREFACE, p. 3. *Burnet.*

INDEED the peevishness, the ill nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has sharpened my spirits perhaps too much against them; so I *warn* my reader to take all that I say on these heads with some grains of allowance.—*Swift.* I will take his *warning*.

P. 4. *Burnet.* Over and over again retouched and polished by me.—*Swift.* Rarely polished; I never read so ill a style.

Ibid. Burnet. That thereby I may awaken the world to just reflections on their own errors and follies.—*Swift.* This I take to be nonsense.

BOOK I.

P. 6. *Burnet.* That king saw that those who were most in his interests were likewise jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it.—*Swift.* Nonsense.

P. 10. *Burnet* says that competent provision to those who served the cure:—was afterwards in his son's time raised to about fifty pounds a year.—*Swift.* Scotch pounds, I suppose.

P. 11. *Burnet.* Colonel Titus assured me that he had from King Charles the First's own mouth, that he was well assured he [Prince Henry] was poisoned by the Earl of Somerset's means.—*Swift.* Titus was the greatest rogue in England.

P. 18. *Burnet* says that Gowry's conspiracy against King James was confirmed to him by his father.—*Swift.* Melvil makes nothing of it.

P. 20. *Burnet.* I turn now to the affairs of Scotland, which are but little known.—*Swift.* Not worth knowing.

P. 23. *Burnet*, Archbishop Spotswood began:—his journey as he often did on a Sunday, which was a very odious thing in that country.—*Swift.* Poor malice.

P. 24. *Burnet*, Mr. Steward, a private gentleman, became:—

so considerable that he was raised by several degrees to be made Earl of Traquair and Lord-Treasurer [of Scotland], and was in great favour; but suffered afterwards such a reverse of fortune, that I saw him so low that he wanted bread, . . . and it was believed died of hunger.—*Swift.* A strange death: perhaps it was of want of *meat.*

P. 26. *Burnet.* My father . . . carefully preserved the petition itself, and the papers relating to the trial [of Lord Balmerinoch]; of which I never saw any copy besides those which I have. . . . The whole record . . . is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.—*Swift.* Puppy.

P. 28. *Burnet.* The Earl of Argyle was a more solemn sort of man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices.—*Swift.* As a man is free of a corporation, he means.

P. 29. *Burnet.* The Lord Wharton and the Lord Howard of Escrick undertook to deliver some of these; which they did, and were *clapt up* upon it.—*Swift.* Dignity of expression.

P. 30. *Burnet.* [King Charles I.] was now in great straits . . . his treasure was now exhausted; his subjects were highly irritated; the ministry were all frighted, being exposed to the anger and justice of the Parliament. . . . He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them.—*Swift.* Not one good quality named.

P. 31. *Burnet.* The Queen [of Charles I.] was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved all her life long to be *in intrigues of all sorts.*—*Swift.* Not of love, I hope

Ibid. Burnet. By the concessions that he made, especially that of the triennial Parliament, the honest and quiet part of the nation was satisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were secured: So they broke off from those violenter propositions that occasioned the war.—*Swift.* Dark, or nonsense.

Ibid. Burnet. He intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations.—*Swift.* Sad trash.

P. 33. *Burnet.* The first volume of the Earl of Clarendon's "History" gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, though writ in favour of the court.—*Swift.* Writ with the spirit of an historian, not of [a raker] into scandal.

P. 34. *Burnet.* Dickson, Blair, Rutherford, Baily, Cant, and the two Gillispys . . . affected great sublimities in devotion: They poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; something of Hebrew, and very little Greek: Books of controversy with Papists, but above all with the Arminians, was the height of their study.—*Swift.* Great nonsense. Rutherford was half fool, half mad.

P. 40. *Burnet*, speaking of the bad effects of the Marquess of Montrose's expedition and defeat, says:—It alienated the Scots much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they seemed to have some colour for all those aspersions they had cast on the King, as if he had been in a correspondence with the Irish rebels, when the worst tribe of them had been thus employed by him.—*Swift.* Lord Clarendon differs from all this.

P. 41. *Burnet.* The Earl of Essex told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the Irish massacre, but could never see any reason to believe the King had any accession to it.—*Swift.* And who but *a beast* ever believed it?

P. 42. *Burnet*, arguing with the Scots concerning the propriety of the King's death, observes:—Drummond said, "Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapon."—*Swift.* And Burnet thought as Cromwell did.

P. 46. *Burnet.* They [the army] will ever keep the Parliament in subjection to them, and so keep up their own authority.—*Swift.* Weak.

Ibid. Burnet. Fairfax was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day.—*Swift.* Fairfax had hardly common sense.

P. 49. *Burnet.* I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marshal Schomberg's, never to meddle in the relation of military matters.—*Swift.* Very foolish advice, for soldiers cannot write.

P. 50. *Burnet.* [Laud's] defence of himself, writ . . . when he was in the Tower, is a very mean performance. . . . In most particulars he excuses himself by this, that he was but one of many, who either in council, star-chamber, or high commission voted illegal things. Now though this was true, yet a chief minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occasions he says, the thing was proved but by one witness. Now, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is.—*Swift.* All this is full of malice and ill judgement.

Ibid. Burnet, speaking of the "Eikon Basilike," supposed to be written by Charles the First, says:—There was in it a nobleness and justness of thought with a greatness of style, that made it to be looked on as the best writ book in the English language. —*Swift.* I think it a poor treatise, and that the King did not write it.

P. 51. *Burnet.* Upon the King's death the Scots proclaimed his son King, and sent over Sir George Wincam, *that married*

my great-aunt, to treat with him while he was in the Isle of Jersey.—*Swift.* Was that the reason he was sent?

P. 53. *Burnet.* I remember in one fast-day there were six sermons preached without intermission. I was there myself, and not a little weary of so tedious a service.—*Swift.* Burnet was not then eight years old.

P. 61. *Burnet*, speaking of the period of the usurpation in Scotland:—Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Ayr, and Inverness, besides many little forts. There was good justice done, and vice was suppressed and punished; so that we always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity.—*Swift.* No doubt you do.

P. 63. *Burnet*, speaking of the Scotch preachers at sacrament times during the civil wars, says:—The crowds were far beyond the capacity of their churches, or the reach of their voices.—*Swift.* I believe the church had as much capacity as the minister.

P. 64. *Burnet.* The resolutioners sent up one Sharp, who had been long in England, and was an active and eager man.—*Swift.* Afterwards archbishop, and murdered.

P. 66. *Burnet.* Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: And upon occasions *clapt* them up for a short while.—*Swift.* Pox of his *claps*.

P. 87. *Burnet*, speaking of the Restoration:—Of all this Monk had both the praise and the reward; though I have been told a very small share of it belonged to him.—*Swift.* Malice.

Book II.

P. 92. *Burnet.* I will therefore enlarge . . . on the affairs of Scotland; both out of the inbred love that all men have for their native country, etc.—*Swift.* Could not he keep his inbred love to himself?

Ibid. Burnet. Sharp, who was employed by the resolutioners . . . stuck neither at solemn protestations, . . . nor at appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for the presbytery both in prayers and on other occasions, etc.—*Swift.* Sure there was some secret personal cause of all this malice against Sharp.

P. 93. *Burnet*, speaking of Charles II., says:—He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making everything easy to him.—*Swift.* Eloquence.

P. 99. *Burnet* says of Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington:—His parts were solid, but not quick.—*Swift.* They were very quick.

P. 100. *Burnet* says of the Duke of Buckingham:—Pleasure,

frolic, or extravagant diversion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himself.—*Swift.* No consequence. *Burnet.* He had no steadiness nor conduct: He could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it.—*Swift.* Nonsense.

P. 117. *Burnet.* It was visible that neither the late King nor the present were under any force when they passed . . . those Acts[bringing in Presbyterian government].—*Swift.* Both Kings were under a force.

P. 118. *Burnet.* To annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which destroyed the whole security of government.—*Swift.* Wrong arguing.

Ibid. Burnet. Distress on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his person.—*Swift.* It was so.

P. 119. *Burnet.* We went into it, he said, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miscarried in it as fools.—*Swift.* True.

Ibid. Burnet. No government was so well established, as not to be liable to a revolution. This [the Rescissory Act] would cut off all hopes of peace and submission, if any disorder should happen at any time thereafter.—*Swift.* Wrong weak reasoning.

P. 120. *Burnet.* Such care was taken that no public application should be made in favour of Presbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement.—*Swift.* Does the man write like a bishop?

P. 126. *Burnet,* speaking of the execution of the Marquess of Argyle:—After some time spent in his private devotions he was beheaded.—*Swift.* He was the greatest villain of his age.

Ibid. Burnet. The kirk . . . asserted all along that the doctrine delivered in their sermons did not fall under the cognisance of the temporal courts, till it was first judged by the church.—*Swift.* Popery.

P. 127. *Burnet.* The proceedings against Wariston were soon dispatched.—*Swift.* Wariston was an abominable dog.

P. 135. *Burnet,* of Bishop Leightoun's character:—The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion. . . . His style was rather too fine.—*Swift.* Burnet is not guilty of that.

P. 140. *Burnet.* Leightoun did not stand much upon it. He did not *think* orders given without bishops were null and void. He *thought,* the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by apostolical practices, which, as he *thought,* authorized Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not *think* it necessary to the being of a church. But he *thought* that every church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased.—*Swift. Think, thought, thought, think, thought.*

P. 154. *Burnet*, speaking of a proclamation for shutting up two hundred churches in one day:—Sharp said to myself, that he knew nothing of it . . . He was glad that this was done without his having any share in it: For by it he was furnished with somewhat, in which he was no way concerned, upon which he might cast all the blame of all that followed. Yet this was suitable enough to a maxim that he and all that sort of people set up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their strength, as well as their honour.—*Swift.* Dunce, can there be a better maxim?

P. 157. *Burnet*, speaking of those who enforced church discipline, says:—They had a very scanty measure of learning, and a narrow compass in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excess of passion and indiscretion.—*Swift.* Strange inconsistent stuff.

P. 160. *Burnet.* One Venner . . . thought it was not enough to believe that Christ was to reign on earth, and to put the saints in the possession of the kingdom . . . but added to this, that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves.—*Swift.* This wants grammar.

P. 163. *Burnet.* John Goodwin and Milton did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people.—*Swift.* He censures even mercy.

Ibid. Burnet. Milton . . . was . . . much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, though he was then blind; chiefly that of "Paradise Lost," in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, though he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in *our* language.—*Swift.* A mistake, for it is *in English.*

P. 164. *Burnet.* The great share he [Sir Henry Vane] had in the attainder of the Earl Strafford, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the court think it was necessary to put him out of the way.—*Swift.* A malicious turn. Vane was a dangerous enthusiastic beast.

Ibid. Burnet. When he [Sir Henry Vane] saw his death was designed, he composed himself to it, with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some instances of this were very extraordinary, though they cannot be mentioned with *decency.—Swift.* His lady *conceived* of him the night before his execution.

Ibid. Burnet. Sir Henry Vane died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought, the government had lost

more than it had gained by his death.—*Swift.* Vane was beheaded for new attempts, not here mentioned.

P. 179. *Burnet.* [The Papists] seemed zealous for the Church. But at the same time they spoke of toleration, as necessary both for the peace and quiet of the nation, and for the encouragement of trade.—*Swift.* This is inconsistent.

P. 180. *Burnet* says that Mr. Baxter :—was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age : He writ near *two hundred books.*—*Swift.* Very sad ones.

P. 184. *Burnet.* The Convocation that prepared those alterations, as they added some new holy days, St. Barnabas, and the Conversion of St. Paul, so they took in more lessons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the story of Bel and the Dragon.—*Swift.* I think they acted wrong.

Ibid. Burnet. Reports were spread . . . of the plots of the Presbyterians in several counties. Many were taken up on those reports : But none were ever tried for them.—*Swift.* A common practice.

Ibid. Burnet, writing of the ejection of the Nonconformists on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, says :—A severity neither practised by Queen Elizabeth in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the Royalists.—*Swift.* But by King William.

P. 186. *Burnet*, speaking of the great fines raised on the church estates ill applied, proceeds :—If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for small vicarages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation.—*Swift.* He judges here right, in my opinion.

Ibid. Burnet, continuing the same subject :—The men of merit and service were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great accession of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hospitality; while others made purchases, and left great estates, most of which we have seen melt away.—*Swift.* Uncharitable aggravation; a base innuendo.

P. 189. *Burnet.* Patrick was a great preacher. He wrote . . . well, and chiefly on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great strictness of life, but a little too severe against those who differed from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines struck at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate.—*Swift.* Yes, for he turned a rank Whig.

P. 190. *Burnet.* [Archbishop Tenison] was a very learned man. —*Swift.* The dullest, good-for-nothing man I ever knew.

P. 191. *Burnet*, condemning the bad style of preaching before Tillotson, Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, says their discourses were:—

long and heavy, when all was *pie-bald*, full of many sayings of different languages.—*Swift.* A noble epithet. *Burnet.* The King . . . had got a right notion of style.—*Swift.* How came Burnet not to learn this style?

P. 193. *Burnet*, speaking of the first formation of the Royal Society:—Many physicians, and other ingenious men went into the society for natural philosophy. But he who laboured most . . was Robert Boyle, the Earl of Cork's youngest son. He was looked on by all who knew him as a very perfect pattern. . . . He neglected his person, despised the world, and lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interests.—*Swift.* Boyle was a very silly writer.

P. 195. *Burnet.* Peter Walsh, . . . who was the honestest and learnedest man I ever knew among [the Popish clergy, often told me] . . . there was nothing which the whole Popish party feared more than an union of those of the Church of England with the Presbyterians. . . . The Papists had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themselves united.—*Swift.* Rogue.

P. 202. *Burnet.* The queen-mother had brought over from France one Mrs. Steward, reckoned a very *great beauty.—Swift.* A pretty phrase.

P. 203. *Burnet.* One of the first things that was done in this session of Parliament [1663] was *the execution of my unfortunate uncle, Wariston.—Swift.* Was he hanged or beheaded? A fit uncle for such a bishop.

P. 211. *Burnet.* Many were undone by it [religious persecution], and went over to the Scots in Ulster, where they were well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion.—*Swift.* The more the pity.

P. 214. *Burnet.* The blame of all this was cast upon Sharp. . . . And the Lord Lauderdale, to complete his disgrace with the King, got many of his letters . . . and laid these before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worst of men.—*Swift.* Surely there was some secret cause for this perpetual malice against Sharp.

P. 220. *Burnet.* Pensionary De Witt had the notions of a commonwealth from the Greeks and Romans. And from them he came to fancy, that an army commanded by officers of their own country was both more in their own power, and would serve them with the more zeal, since they themselves had such an interest in their success.—*Swift.* He ought to have judged the contrary.

P. 236. *Burnet*, speaking of the slight rebellion in the west of Scotland, 1666, says:—The rest [of the rebels] were favoured by the darkness of the night, and the weariness of the King's troops that were not in case to pursue them. . . . For they were

a poor harmless company of men, become mad by oppression.—*Swift.* A fair historian!

P. 237. *Burnet.* They might all have saved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a sort of martyrs for it.—*Swift.* Decent term.

P. 238. *Burnet.* [Sir John Cunningham] was not only very learned in the civil and canon law . . . [but] was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the *piousest* men of the nation.—*Swift.* Is that Scotch?

P. 242. *Burnet.* When the peace of Breda was concluded, the King wrote to the Scottish council, and communicated *that* to them; and with *that* signified, *that* it was his pleasure *that* the army should be disbanded.—*Swift.* Four *thats* in one line.

P. 243. *Burnet.* [Archbishop Burnet] saw Episcopacy was to be pulled down, and . . . writ upon these matters a long and sorrowful letter to Sheldon: And upon that Sheldon writ a very long one to Sir R. Murray; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it than I could have expected from him.—*Swift.* Sheldon was a very great and excellent man.

P. 245. *Burnet.* [The Countess of Dysert] was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. . . . She had studied not only divinity and history, but mathematics and philosophy. She was violent in everything she set about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. . . . [When Lauderdale] was prisoner after Worcester fight, she made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that she saved it by her intrigues with Cromwell.—*Swift.* Cromwell had gallantries with her.

P. 248. *Burnet.* The clergy . . . saw designs were forming to turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in Ireland, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to desert their cures.—*Swift.* So Ireland was well provided.

P. 252. *Burnet.* The King . . . suspecting that Lord Cornbury was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency. . . . In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himself told me.—*Swift.* Who told him?

P. 253. *Burnet,* speaking of Sheldon's remonstrating with the King about his mistresses, adds:—From that day forward Sheldon could never recover the King's confidence.—*Swift.* Sheldon had refused the sacrament to the King for living in adultery.

Ibid. Burnet. Sir Orlando Bridgman . . . was a man of great integrity, and had very serious impressions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the side of the Church.—*Swift.* What side should he be of?

P. 256. *Burnet,* speaking of the Earl of Clarendon's banishment:—It seemed against the common course of justice, to make

all corresponding with him treason, when he himself was not attainted of treason.—*Swift.* Bishop of Rochester's case.

P. 257. *Burnet.* Thus the Lord Clarendon fell under the common fate of great ministers; whose employment exposes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disappointed in their pretensions. Their friends . . . turning as violently against them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them.—*Swift.* Stupid moralist.

Ibid. Burnet, speaking of the Earl of Clarendon's eldest son, who afterwards succeeded him, says:—His judgement was not to be *much* depended on; for he was *much* carried by vulgar prejudices, and false notions. He was *much* in the Queen's favour. *Swift.* Much, much, much.

P. 258. *Burnet,* speaking of the Earl of Rochester, second son of Lord Clarendon:—[He] is a man of far greater parts [than his brother]. He has a *very good pen,* but speaks not gracefully.—*Swift.* I suppose it was of gold or silver.

Ibid. Burnet. [The King] told me, he had a chaplain, that was a very honest man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in Suffolk, that was full of that sort of people [Nonconformists]: He had gone about among them from house to house; though he could not imagine what he could say to them; for he said he was a very silly fellow: But that, he believed, his nonsense suited their nonsense, for he had brought them all to church: And, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a bishopric in Ireland.—*Swift.* Bishop Wolley, of Clonfert.

P. 259. *Burnet.* If the sectaries were humble and modest, and would tell what would satisfy them, there might be some colour for granting some concessions.—*Swift.* I think so too.

P. 260. *Burnet.* The three volumes of the "Friendly Debate," though writ by a very good man.—*Swift.* Writ by Bishop Patrick.

Ibid. Burnet. After he [Samuel Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford] had for some years entertained the nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, etc.—*Swift.* What is a droll? *Burnet.* That not only humbled Parker, but the whole party: For the author of "The Rehearsal Transposed," etc.—*Swift.* Andrew Marvel.

P. 263. *Burnet,* speaking of the King's attachment to Nell Gwyn, says:—But after all he never treated her with the *decencies* of a mistress.—*Swift.* Pray what *decencies* are those?

Ibid. Burnet. The King had another mistress, that was managed by Lord Shaftesbury, who was the daughter of a clergyman, Roberts; in whom her first education had so deep a root, that, though she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion

was so deep laid in her, that, though it did not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horror at sin, that she was never easy in an ill course, and died with a great sense of her former ill life. I was *often with her* the last three months of her life.—*Swift.* Was she handsome then?

P. 264. *Burnet.* The King loved his [the Earl of Rochester's] company for the diversion it afforded, better than his person: And there was no love lost between them.—*Swift.* A noble phrase.

P. 265. *Burnet.* Sedley had a more sudden and copious wit, which furnished a perpetual run of discourse: But he was not so correct as Lord Dorset, nor so sparkling as Lord Rochester. —*Swift.* No better a critic in wit than style.

P. 266. *Burnet.* Lord Roberts, afterwards made Earl of Radnor, [who succeeded the Duke of Ormonde in his government of Ireland,] was a morose man, believed to be severely just, and as wise as a *cynical* humour could allow him to be.—*Swift.* How does that hinder wisdom?

P. 273. *Burnet.* Charles II. confessed himself a Papist to the Prince of Orange:—The Prince told me, that he never spoke of this to any other person, till *after his death.*—*Swift.* That is, *his own death.*

P. 277. *Burnet* quotes an exclamation of Archbishop Sharp's, after an attempt to assassinate him, and adds:—This was the single expression savouring of piety, that ever fell from him in all the conversation that passed between him and me.—*Swift.* Rank malice.

P. 285. *Burnet.* No body could ever tell me how the word "Ecclesiastical matters" was put in the Act. Leightoun thought, he was sure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on.—*Swift.* Nonsense.

P. 287. *Burnet,* speaking of Archbishop Burnet, says:—He was not cut out for a court, or for the ministry.—*Swift.* A phrase of dignity.

Ibid. Burnet, mentioning his own appointment as Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, says:—There was no sort of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of themselves: And they did it without any recommendation of any person whatsoever.—*Swift.* Modest.

P. 288. *Burnet.* The Episcopal party thought I intended to make myself popular at their cost: So they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from *that sort of people.*—*Swift.* A civil term for all who are Episcopal.

P. 298. *Burnet.* [In compiling the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,] I found there materials for a very large history. I writ it with great sincerity; and concealed none of their errors. I did indeed conceal several things that related to the King: I

left out some passages that were in his letters; in some of which was too much weakness.—*Swift.* The letters, if they had been published, could not have given a worse character.

P. 300. *Burnet*, speaking of the Scotch clergy refusing to be made bishops, says:—They had an ill opinion of the court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement.—*Swift.* For that very reason they should have accepted bishoprics.

P. 301. *Burnet*, after mentioning the murder of the Duchess of Orleans, says:—I will set down one story of her, that was told me by a person of distinction, who had it from some who were well informed of the matter.—*Swift.* Poor authority.

P. 303. *Burnet.* Madame [the Duchess of Orleans] had an intrigue with another person, whom I knew well, the Count of Tréville. When she was in her agony, she said, "Adieu, Tréville." He was so struck with this accident, that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years among the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned, and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I saw him often. He was a man of a very sweet temper, only a little too formal for a Frenchman. But he was very sincere. He was a Jansenist. He hated the Jesuits.—*Swift.* Pretty jumping periods.

P. 304. *Burnet.* Lord Shaftesbury laid the blame of this chiefly on the Duke of Buckingham: For he told me, . . . And therefore he blamed him.—*Swift.* Who blamed whom.

Ibid. Burnet. The Duke of Savoy was encouraged to make a conquest of Genoa.—*Swift.* Geneva.

Ibid. Burnet. When a foreign minister asked the King's leave to treat with him [Lockhart] in his master's name, the King consented; but with this severe reflection, That he believed he would be true to anybody but himself.—*Swift.* Does he mean, Lockhart would not be true to Lockhart?

P. 305. *Burnet.* They [the French] so possessed De Groot, then the Dutch ambassador at Paris, or they corrupted him into a belief that they had no design on them, etc.—*Swift.* Who on whom?

P. 306. *Burnet.* The Earl of Shaftesbury was the chief man in this advice [recommending the King to shut up the exchequer].—*Swift.* Clifford had the merit of this.

P. 318. *Burnet*, after mentioning the death of William II., Prince of Orange, says of the Princess:—As she bore her son a week after his death, in the eighth month of her time, so he came into the world under great disadvantages.—*Swift.* A pretty contrast.

Ibid. Burnet mentions an astrological prediction of the Prince's fate, and adds:—But that which *was* most particular *was*, that he *was* to have a son by a widow, and *was* to die of

the small-pox in the twenty-fifth year of his age.—*Swift.* Was, was, was, was.

P. 320. *Burnet.* They set it also up for a maxim.—*Swift.* He can vary a phrase; set up for a maxim, and lay down for a maxim.

P. 321. *Burnet.* His oath was made to them, and by consequence it was in their power to release the obligation that did arise from it to themselves.—*Swift.* Bad casuist.

Ibid. Burnet. As soon as he [the Prince of Orange] was brought into the command of the armies, he told me, he spoke to De Witt, and desired to live in an entire confidence with him. His answer was cold: So he saw that he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, that he was certainly one of the greatest men of the age, and he believed he served his country faithfully.—*Swift.* Yet the Prince contrived that he should be murdered.

Ibid. Burnet. Now I come to give an account of the fifth crisis brought on the whole reformation, which has been of the longest continuance, since we are yet in the agitations of it.—*Swift.* Under the Queen and Lord Oxford's ministry.

P. 322. *Burnet.* [In this famous campaign of Louis XIV. against the Dutch, (1672,)] there was so little heart or judgement shewn in the management of that run of success, etc.—*Swift.* A metaphor, but from gamesters.

P. 326. *Burnet*, referring to the action of the rabble when Cornelius de Witt was banished, says of the Prince of Orange: —His enemies have taken advantages from thence to cast the infamy of this on him, and on his party, to make them all odious; though the Prince spoke of it always to me with the greatest horror possible.—*Swift.* Yet he was guilty enough.

P. 328. *Burnet.* Prince Waldeck was their chief general: A man of a great compass.—*Swift. i.e.* very fat.

P. 330. *Burnet.* He broke twice with the Prince, after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time.—*Swift.* Perspicuity.

Ibid. Burnet. The actions sinking on the sudden on the breaking out of a new war, that sunk him into a melancholy, which quite distracted him.—*Swift.* Eloquent.

P. 335. *Burnet.* I will complete the transactions of this memorable year:—P. 337. Thus I have gone far into the state of affairs of Holland in this memorable year.—*Swift.* Why, you called it so but just now before.

P. 337. *Burnet.* It seems, the French made no great account of their prisoners, for they released 25,000 Dutch for 50,000 crowns.—*Swift.* What! ten shillings a piece! By much too dear for a Dutchman.

Ibid. Burnet. This year [1672] the King declared a new

mistress, and made her Duchess of Portsmouth. She had been maid of honour to Madame, the King's sister, and had come over with her to Dover; where the King had expressed such a regard to her, that the Duke of Buckingham, who hated the Duchess of Cleveland, intended to *put her on the King.—Swift.* Surely he means the contrary.

P. 341. *Burnet.* [The Duke of Lauderdale] called for me all on the sudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him, of putting all the outed ministers by *couples* into parishes: So that instead of wandering about the country to hold conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice.—*Swift.* A sottish project; instead of feeding *fifty*, you starve a *hundred.*

Book III.

P. 346. *Burnet.* It was believed, if the design had succeeded, he [Lord Clifford] had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aspire to a cardinal's hat.—*Swift.* Was he or she to take orders?

P. 362. *Burnet.* I told him, what afterwards happened, that most of these would make their own terms, and leave him in the lurch.—*Swift.* True sublime.

P. 370. *Burnet.* I was ever of Nazianzen's opinion, who never wished to see any more synods of the clergy.—*Swift.* Dog!

P. 372. *Burnet*, when he was struck out of the list of chaplains, says:—The King said, he was afraid I had been too busy; and wished me to go home to Scotland, and be more quiet.—*Swift.* The King knew him right.

Ibid. Burnet. I preached in many of the churches of London; and was so well received, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any that was to be disposed of by *a popular election.—Swift.* Much to his honour.

P. 373. *Burnet.* This violent and groundless prosecution lasted some months. And during that time I said to some, that Duke Lauderdale had gone so far in opening some wicked designs to me, that I perceived he could not be satisfied, unless I was undone. So I told what was mentioned before of the discourses that passed between him and me.—*Swift.* Scotch dog!

P. 374. *Burnet.* He [Lord Howard] went over in the beginning of the war, and offered to serve De Witt. But he told me, he found him a dry man.—*Swift.* Who told who? I guess Howard told Burnet.

P. 378. *Burnet.* At least he [Sir William Temple] thought religion was fit only for the mob.—*Swift.* A word of dignity for an historian. *Burnet.* He was a corrupter of all that came

near him. And he delivered himself up wholly to study, ease, and pleasure.—*Swift.* Sir William Temple was a man of virtue, to which Burnet was a stranger.

P. 380. *Burnet*, speaking of his being pressed, before Parliament, to reveal what passed between him and the Duke of Lauderdale *in private;* and the Parliament, in case of refusal, threatening him, says:—Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the discourse formerly mentioned.—*Swift.* Treacherous villain.

Ibid. Burnet. My love to my country, and my private friendships carried me perhaps too far.—*Swift.* Right.

P. 382. *Burnet.* [Sir Harbottle Grimstone] had always *a tenderness to the Dissenters.—Swift.* Burnet's test of all virtues.

Ibid. Burnet. [Lady Grimstone] was the humblest, the devoutest, and best tempered person I ever *knew of that sort* [having high notions for Church and Crown].—*Swift.* Rogue.

P. 384. *Burnet*, the country party maintained that:—if a Parliament thought any law inconvenient for the good of the whole, they must be supposed still free to alter it: And no previous limitation could bind up their legislature.—*Swift.* Wrong arguing.

P. 387. *Burnet.* It was said, a standing Parliament changed the constitution of England.—*Swift.* The present case under King George.

Ibid. Burnet. It was moved, that an address should be made to the King for dissolving the Parliament.—*Swift. Tempora mutantur;* for nothing now will do but septennial Parliaments.

P. 388 *Burnet.* He [Lord Russell] had from his first education an inclination to favour the Non-conformists.—*Swift.* So have all the author's favourites.

P. 392. *Burnet.* But with these good qualities Compton was a weak man, wilful, and strangely wedded to a party.—*Swift.* He means, to the Church.

Ibid. Burnet. Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, was raised to [the see of Canterbury]. . . . He was a man of solemn deportment, had a sullen gravity in his looks, and was considerably learned. He had put on a monastic strictness, and lived abstracted from company. . . . He was a dry, cold man, reserved, and peevish; so that none loved him, and few esteemed him.—*Swift.* False and detracting.

P. 396. *Burnet.* My way of writing history pleased him [Sir William Jones].—*Swift.* Very modest.

P. 399. *Burnet.* Men were now though silent, not quiet.—*Swift.* Nonsense, or printer's mistake. It should be, "Silent, though not quiet."

Ibid. Burnet. One Carstairs, a loose and vicious gentleman. —*Swift.* Epithets well placed.

P. 404. *Burnet.* It was an extraordinary thing that a random cannon shot should have killed him [Turenne].—*Swift.* How extraordinary? Might it not kill him as well as another man?

P. 406. *Burnet,* in the battle at St. Omer between the Prince of Orange (afterwards King William) and the Duke of Orleans:—some regiments of marines, on whom the Prince depended much, did basely run away. Yet the other bodies fought so well, that he lost not much, besides the *honour of the day.*—*Swift.* He was used to that.

P. 407. *Burnet.* These leading men did so entangle the debates, and over-reached those on whom he had practised, that they, working on the aversion that the English nation naturally has to a French interest, spoiled the hopefullest session the court had had of a great while, before the court was well aware of it.—*Swift.* Rare style!

P. 409. *Burnet,* Lord Danby, speaking to King Charles II., said:—If they saw his [the Duke of York's] daughter given to one that was at the head of the Protestant interest, it would very much soften those apprehensions, when it did appear that his religion was only a personal thing, not to be derived to his children after him. With all this the King was convinced.—*Swift.* Then how was the King for bringing in Popery?

P. 413. *Burnet.* His friend answered, He hoped he did not intend to make use of him to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, Sharp promised by the living God, that no hurt should come to him, if he made a full discovery.—*Swift.* Malice.

Ibid. Burnet, upon the examination of Mitchell before the privy-council for the intended assassination of Archbishop Sharp, it being first proposed to cut off the prisoner's right hand, and then his left:—Lord Rothes, who was a pleasant man, said, "How shall he wipe his breech then?" This is not very *decent* to be mentioned in such a work, if it were not necessary.—*Swift.* As decent as a thousand other passages; so he might have spared his apology.

P. 414. *Burnet,* in the last article of the above trial, observes:—But the judge, who hated Sharp, as he went up to the bench, passing by the prisoner said to him, "Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your limbs as well as of your life."—*Swift.* A rare judge.

Ibid. Burnet, mentioning Mackenzie's appointment as king's advocate, says of him:—He has published many books, some of law, but all full of faults; for he was a slight and superficial man.—*Swift.* Envious and base.

P. 416. *Burnet,* speaking of the execution of the above Mitchell for the attempt against Sharp, says:—Yet Duke Lauderdale had a chaplain, Hickes, afterwards Dean of Worcester, who

published a false and partial relation of this matter, in order to the justifying of it.—*Swift.* A learned, pious man.[1]

P. 425. *Burnet.* [Titus Oates] got to be a chaplain in one of the king's ships, from which he was dismissed upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not to be named.—*Swift.* Only sodomy.

P. 434. *Burnet.* He [Staley] was cast.—*Swift. Anglicé*, found guilty.

P. 441. *Burnet*, on the impeachment of Lord Danby:—Maynard, an ancient and eminent lawyer, explained the words of the statute of 25 Edward III. that the courts of law could not proceed but upon one of the crimes there enumerated: But the Parliament had still a power, by the clause in that Act, to declare what they thought was treason.—*Swift.* Yes, by a new Act, but not with a retrospect; therefore Maynard was a *knave or a fool, with all his law.*

P. 442. *Burnet.* This indeed would have justified the King, if it had been demanded above board.—*Swift.* Style of a gamester.

P. 451. *Burnet.* Yet many thought, that, what doctrines soever men might by a subtlety of speculation be carried into, the approaches of death, with the seriousness that appeared in their deportment, must needs work so much on the probity and candour which seemed rooted in human nature, etc.—*Swift.* Credat Judaeus Apella.

P. 455. *Burnet*, the Bill of Exclusion disinherited:—the next heir, which certainly the King and Parliament might do, as well as any private man might disinherit his next heir.—*Swift.* That is not always true. Yet it was certainly in the power of King and Parliament to exclude the next heir.

P. 457. *Burnet.* Government was appointed for those that were to be governed, and not for the sake of governors themselves.—*Swift.* A true maxim and infallible.

P. 458. *Burnet.* It was a maxim among our lawyers, that even an Act of Parliament against *Magna Charta* was null of itself.—*Swift.* A sottish maxim.

P. 459. *Burnet.* For a great while I thought the accepting the limitations [proposed in the Exclusion Bill] was the wisest and best method.—*Swift.* It was the wisest, because it would be less opposed; and the King would consent to it; otherwise an *exclusion* would have done better.

P. 471. *Burnet.* The guards having lost thirty of their number were forced to run for it.—*Swift.* For what?

[1] The "Ravillac [*sic*] Redivivus" of Hickes, is, notwithstanding his learning and piety, in every respect deserving of the censures passed upon it by Burnet. [S.]

P. 475. *Burnet.* Dangerfield, a subtle and dexterous man, who . . . was a false coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the ends of the Papists.—*Swift.* Witty.

P. 479. *Burnet.* Godolphin . . . had true principles of religion and virtue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth: So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthiest and wisest men that has been employed in our time.—*Swift.* All this very partial to my knowledge.

P. 483. *Burnet.* I laid open the cruelties of the Church of Rome in many instances that happened in Queen Mary's reign, which were not then known: And I *aggravated*, though *very truly*, the danger of falling under the power of that religion.—*Swift.* A BULL!

Ibid. Burnet. Sprat had studied a polite style much: But there was little strength in it: He had the beginnings of learning laid well in him: But he has allowed himself in a course of some years in much sloth and too many liberties.—*Swift.* Very false.

P. 489. *Burnet.* Here was a justice to be done, and a service to truth, towards the saving a man's life. . . . He advised with all his friends, and with my self in particular. The much greater number were of opinion that he ought to be silent.—*Swift.* Damned advice.

P. 496. *Burnet.* Jones stood upon a point of law, of the unseparableness of the prerogative from the person of the King.—*Swift.* A lawyer's way of arguing, very weak.

P. 509. *Burnet*, speaking of the grand juries in the latter end of King Charles's reign returning *ignoramus* so frequently on bills of indictment, states that:—in defence of these *ignoramus juries* it was said, that by the express words of their oath they were bound to make true presentments of what should appear true to them: And therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill, though sworn to. A book was writ to support that, in which both law and reason were brought to confirm it: It passed as writ by Lord Essex, though I understood afterwards it was writ by Somers.—*Swift.* Lord Somers.

P. 516. *Burnet* says, on the imposition of a Test Act:—The bishops were earnest for this, which they thought would secure them for ever from a Presbyterian Parliament. It was carried in the vote: And that made many of the court more zealous than ever for carrying through the Act.—*Swift.* And it was very reasonable.

P. 519. *Burnet* mentions that, when the Test Act was passed:—about eighty of the most learned and pious of their clergy left all rather than comply with the terms of this law. . . . About twenty of them came up to England.—*Swift.* Enough to corrupt England.

P. 523. *Burnet*, describing the death of the Duke of Lauderdale, says:—His heart seemed quite spent: There was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: The rest was spongy, liker the lungs than the heart.—*Swift. Anglicé*, more like.

P. 525. *Burnet*, Home was convicted on the credit of one infamous evidence:—Applications were made to the Duke [of York] for saving his life: But he was not born under *a pardoning planet*.—*Swift.* Silly fop.

P. 526. *Burnet.* All the Presbyterian party saw they were now disinherited of a main part of their birth-right.—*Swift.* As much of Papists as of Presbyterians.

P. 527. *Burnet*, speaking of the surrender of the charters in 1682:—It was said, that those who were in the government in corporations, and had their charters and seals trusted to their keeping, were not the proprietors nor masters of those rights. They could not extinguish those corporations, nor part with any of their privileges. Others said, that whatever might be objected to the reason and equity of the thing, yet, when the seal of a corporation was put to any deed, such a deed was good in law. The matter goes beyond my skill in law to determine it.—*Swift.* What does he think of the surrenders of the charters of abbeys?

P. 528. *Burnet.* The Non-conformists were now persecuted with much eagerness. This was visibly set on by the Papists: And it was wisely done of them; for they knew how much the *Non-conformists were set against them*.—*Swift.* Not so much as they are against the Church.

P. 531. *Burnet.* Lord Hyde was the person that disposed the Duke to it: Upon that Lord Halifax and he fell to be in ill terms; for he hated Lord Sunderland beyond expression, though he had married his sister.—*Swift.* Who married whose sister?

P. 536. *Burnet.* The truth is, juries became at that time the shame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion: For they were packed, and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed and not as matters appeared on the evidence.—*Swift.* So they are now.

P. 538. *Burnet.* He [Algernon Sidney] was ambassador in Denmark at the time of the Restoration.—*Swift.* For Cromwell.

P. 543. *Burnet*, on Rumbold's proposal to shoot the King at Hodsdon, in his way to Newmarket, adds:—They [the conspirators] ran into much *wicked talk* about the way of executing that. But nothing was ever fixed on: All was *but talk*.—*Swift.* All plots begin with talk.

P. 548. *Burnet.* At the time of Lord Russell's plot, Baillie

being asked by the King whether they had any design against his person? he frankly said not: but being asked:—if they had been in any consultations with lords or others in England, in order to an insurrection in Scotland? Baillie faltered at this: For his *conscience* restrained him from *lying.—Swift.* The author and his *cousins* could *not tell lies*, but they *could plot.*

P. 549. *Burnet.* Next morning he went with him to the Tower gate, the messenger being again fast asleep.—*Swift.* Is this a blunder?

P. 553. *Burnet*, speaking of Lord Essex's suicide (1683):—His man, thinking he stayed longer than ordinary in his *closet*, . . . looked through the key-hole, and there saw him lying dead.—*Swift.* He was on the close-stool.

P. 555. *Burnet*, on Lord Russell's trial:—Finch summed up the evidence against him: But . . . shewed more of a vicious eloquence, in turning matters with some subtlety against the prisoners, than of solid or sincere reasoning.—*Swift.* Afterwards Earl of Aylesford, an arrant rascal.

P. 562. *Burnet.* I offered to take my oath, that the speech [of Lord Russell] was penned by himself, and not by me.—*Swift.* Jesuitical.

P. 567. *Burnet.* I knew Spanheim particularly, *who was* envoy from the Elector of Brandenburg, *who is* the greatest critic of the age in all ancient learning.—*Swift. Who was—who is*, pure nonsense.

P. 568. *Burnet.* All people were apprehensive of very black designs, when they saw Jeffreys made Lord Chief Justice, who . . . run out upon all occasions into declamations, that did not become the bar, much less the bench. He was not learned in his profession: And his eloquence, though viciously copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable.—*Swift.* Like Burnet's eloquence.

P. 572. *Burnet*, on Algernon Sidney's trial, observes, that:—Finch aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions, pretending it was an overt act; for he said, *Scribere est agere.—Swift.* Yet this Finch was made Earl of Aylesford by King George.

Ibid. Burnet, when Sidney charged the sheriffs who brought him the execution-warrant with having packed the jury:—one of the sheriffs . . . wept. He told it to a person, from whom Tillotson had it, who told it me.—*Swift.* Admirable authority.

P. 577. *Burnet.* So that it was plain, that after all the story they had made of the [Rye-house] Plot, it had gone no further, than that a company of seditious and inconsiderable persons were framing among themselves some treasonable schemes, that were never likely to come to anything.—*Swift.* Cursed partiality.

P. 579. *Burnet.* The King [Charles II.] had published a story all about the court, . . . as the reason of this extreme severity against Armstrong: He said, that he was sent over by Cromwell to murder him beyond sea; . . . and that upon his confessing it he had promised him never to speak of it any more as long as he lived. So the King, counting him now dead in law, thought he was free from that promise.—*Swift.* If the King had a mind to lie, he would have stayed till Armstrong was hanged.

P. 583. *Burnet.* It ended in dismissing Lord Aberdeen, and making Lord Perth chancellor, to which he had been long aspiring in a most indecent manner.—*Swift. Decent* and *indecent*, very useful words to this author.

P. 585. *Burnet.* I saved myself out of those difficulties by saying to all my friends, that I would not be involved in any such confidence; for as long as I thought our circumstances were such that resistance was not lawful, I thought the concealing any design in order to it was likewise unlawful.—*Swift.* Jesuitical.

Ibid. Burnet says, after relating how the thumb-screws were applied to Spence and Carstairs:—Upon what was thus screwed out of these two persons, etc.—*Swift.* Witty the second time.

P. 586. *Burnet*, Baillie suffered several hardships and fines for being supposed to be in the Rye-house Plot; yet:—seemed all the while so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans.—*Swift.* For he was our *cousin.*

P. 587. *Burnet*, speaking of Baillie's execution, says:—The only excuse that was ever pretended for this infamous prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty.—*Swift.* Bishop of Rochester.

P. 588. *Burnet*, Lord Perth wanting to see Leightoun, I writ so earnestly to him, that he came to London; and, on:—his coming to me, I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well. . . . [Two days afterwards] Leightoun sunk so, that both speech and sense went away of a sudden: And he continued panting about twelve hours; and then died without pangs or convulsions.—*Swift.* Burnet killed him by bringing him to London.

Ibid. Burnet. Leightoun . . . retained still a peculiar inclination to Scotland.—*Swift.* Yet he chose to live in England.

P. 589. *Burnet*, speaking of Leightoun's views of the Church of England, says:—As to the administration, both with relation to the ecclesiastical courts, and the pastoral care, he looked on it as one of the most corrupt he had ever seen.—*Swift.* Very civil.

Ibid. Burnet. There were two remarkable circumstances in

his [Leightoun's] death. He used often to say, that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn; it looking like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all as an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion in it.—*Swift.* Canting puppy.

P. 590. *Burnet.* Sterne, Archbishop of York, died in the 86th year of his age: He was a sour ill-tempered man, and minded chiefly the enriching his family.—*Swift.* Yet thought author of "The Whole Duty of Man."

P. 591. *Burnet* says of Bishop Mew:—Though he knew very little of divinity, or of any other learning, and was weak to a childish degree, yet obsequiousness and zeal raised him through several steps to this great see [Bath and Wells].—*Swift.* This character is true.

P. 595. *Burnet.* And now the tables were turned.—*Swift.* Style of a gamester.

P. 596. *Burnet*, being appointed to preach the sermon on the Gunpowder Plot, (1684,) at the Rolls Chapel:—I chose for my text these words: "Save me from the lion's mouth, thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns." I made no reflection in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn, as being the two supporters of the King's scutcheon.—*Swift.* I doubt that.

P. 600. *Burnet* relates a story of a quarrel between three gentlemen, one of whom was killed. He says that one of the others:—was prevailed on to confess the indictment, and to let sentence pass on him for murder; a pardon being promised him if he should do so. [After this he had to pay £16,000 for his pardon.]—*Swift.* The story is wrong told.

P. 604. *Burnet* mentions a scheme to raise dissensions between Charles II. and the Duke of York, and adds:—Mr. May of the privy purse told me, that he was told there was a design to break out, with which he himself would be well pleased.—*Swift.* The bishop told me this with many more particulars.

P. 609. *Burnet*, speaking of the suspicion of Charles II. being poisoned, says that:—Lower and Needham, two famous physicians, . . . [noticed some] blue spots on the outside of the stomach. Needham called twice to have it opened: but the surgeons seemed not to hear him. And when he moved it the second time, he, as he told me, heard Lower say to one that stood next him, "Needham will undo us, calling thus to have the stomach opened, for he may see they will not do it." . . . Le Fevre, a French physician, told me, he saw a blackness in the shoulder: Upon which he made an incision, and saw it was all mortified. Short, another physician, who was a Papist, but after a form of his own, did very much suspect foul dealing.—*Swift.* One physician told me this from Short himself.

P. 611. *Burnet*, describing the behaviour of Charles II. when

in hiding after the battle of Worcester, says :—Under all the apprehensions he had then upon him, he shewed a temper so careless, and so much turned to levity, that he was then diverting himself with little household sports, in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had made no loss, and had been in no danger at all.—*Swift.* This might admit a more favourable turn.

P. 613. *Burnet*, in his character of Charles II., says :—His person and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, resemble the character that we have given us of Tiberius so much, that it were easy to draw the parallel between them. Tiberius's banishment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the comparison in that respect come pretty near. His hating of business, and his love of pleasures, his raising of favourites, and trusting them entirely ; and his pulling them down, and hating them excessively ; his art of covering deep designs, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of softness, brings them so near a likeness, that I did not wonder much to observe the resemblance of their face and person.—*Swift.* Malicious, and in many circumstances false.

P. 615. *Burnet* concludes his character of Charles II. with these words :—How ungrateful soever this labour has proved to my self, and how unacceptable soever it may be to some, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the engagement of parties and interests are under other biasses, yet I have gone through all that I knew relating to his life and reign with that regard to truth, and what I think may be instructive to mankind, which became an impartial writer of history, and one who believes, that he must give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he says and does.—*Swift.* He was certainly a very bad prince, but not to the degree described in this character, which is poorly drawn, and mingled with malice very unworthy an historian, and the style abominable, as in the whole history, and the observations trite and vulgar.

BOOK IV.

P. 623. *Burnet.* Because Chudleigh the envoy there had openly broken with the Prince [of Orange], (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly against him ; and once in the Vorhaut had affronted him, while he was driving the Princess upon the snow in a *trainau*, according to the German manner, and pretending they were masked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove ;) the King recalled him.—*Swift.* A pretty parenthesis.

P. 626. *Burnet.* This gave all thinking men a melancholy prospect. England now seemed lost, unless some happy

accident should save it. All people saw the way for packing a Parliament now laid open.—*Swift.* Just our case at the Queen's death.

P. 638. *Burnet* says that Musgrave and others pretended :—when money was asked for just and necessary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the public treasure.—*Swift.* A party remark.

P. 651. *Burnet.* Goodenough, who had been under-sheriff of London when Cornish was sheriff, offered to swear against Cornish ; and also said, that Rumsey had not discovered all he knew. So Rumsey to save himself joined with Goodenough, to swear Cornish guilty of that for which the Lord Russell had suffered. And this was driven on so fast, that Cornish was seized on, tried, and executed within the week.—*Swift.* Goodenough went to Ireland, practised law, and died there.

Ibid. Burnet. It gave a general horror to the body of the nation : And it let all people see, what might be expected from a reign that seemed to delight in blood.—*Swift.* The same here since the Queen's death.

P. 654. *Burnet.* The Archbishop of Armagh[1] [1685,] had continued Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and was in all points so compliant to the court, that even his religion came to be suspected on that account.—*Swift.* False.

Ibid. Burnet, and yet this archbishop :—was not thought thorough-paced. So Sir Charles Porter, who was a zealous promoter of everything that the King proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a tool of, was declared Lord Chancellor of Ireland.—*Swift.* False and scandalous.

P. 669. *Burnet.* Solicitor-general Finch . . . was presently after turned out. And Powis succeeded him, who was a compliant young aspiring lawyer, though in himself he was no ill natured man.—*Swift.* Sir Thomas Powis, a good dull lawyer.

P. 670. *Burnet,* speaking of the power claimed for the King to dispense with the sacramental test, says :—It was an overturning the whole government, . . . to say that laws, . . . where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, should at the pleasure of the prince be dispensed with : A fine was also set by the Act on offenders, but not given to the King, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the King could no

[1] Michael Boyle, who, when Archbishop of Dublin, was made chancellor soon after the Restoration (1665), and continued in that office to January, 1686, during which time he was raised to the Archbishopric of Armagh.—SEWARD.

more pardon that, than he could discharge the debts of the subjects, and take away property.—*Swift.* Wrong reasoning.

P. 672. *Burnet.* Intimations were everywhere given, that the King would not have them [Dissenters], or their meetings, to be disturbed. Some of them began to grow insolent upon this shew of favour.—*Swift.* The whole body of them grew insolent, and complying to the King.

P. 675. *Burnet.* Sancroft lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against Popery in private discourse: But he was of such a timorous temper, and *so set on the enriching his nephew*, that he shewed no sort of courage.—*Swift.* False as hell.

P. 681. *Burnet*, referring to the revived national zeal against Popery, says:—The Episcopal clergy were in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that they were not capable of conducting this zeal: . . . But the Presbyterians, though they were now freed from the great severities they had long smarted under, yet expressed on all occasions their unconquerable aversion to Popery.—*Swift.* Partial dog!

P. 682. *Burnet.* He made the Earl of Tyrconnell Lord Lieutenant.—*Swift.* Lord deputy.

P. 688. *Burnet.* Nor were the clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the English clergy are the most remiss of any.—*Swift.* Civil that.

P. 690. *Burnet*, speaking of King William's character, says:—he had no vice, but of one sort, in which he was very *cautious* and *secret*.—*Swift.* It was of two sorts—*male* and *female*—in the *former* he was neither cautious nor secret.

P. 691. *Burnet*, in a conversation with the Prince of Orange at The Hague, (1686):—When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he said, that was all he would ever desire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home.—*Swift.* It seems the Prince even then thought of being King.

P. 692. *Burnet*, the advice I gave the Princess of Orange, when she should be Queen of England, was, to:—endeavour effectually to get it [the real authority] to be legally vested in him [the Prince] during life: This would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled.—*Swift.* By Mrs. Villiers, now Lady Orkney; but he proved a *d——d husband for all that.*[1]

P. 693. *Burnet*, having told the Princess of Orange that her succession to the throne would not make her husband king, and given her the advice just quoted, says:—she in a very frank

[1] Lady Orkney was a favourite of Swift, as appears from several passages in the Journal. [S.]

manner told him, that she did not know that the laws of England were so contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her: she did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife.—*Swift.* Foolish.

P. 693. *Burnet.* [Penn, the Quaker,] was a talking vain man, who had been long in the King's favour, he being the vice-admiral's son. . . . He had a tedious luscious way, that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience. —*Swift.* He spoke very agreeably, and with much spirit.

P. 695. *Burnet.* Cartwright was promoted to Chester. He was a man of good capacity, and had made some progress in learning. He was ambitious and servile, cruel and boisterous: And, by the great liberties he allowed himself, he fell under much scandal of the *worst sort.*—*Swift.* Only sodomy.

P. 696. *Burnet.* [Cartwright] was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the design of Popery, than if he should turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that step, even in the most desperate state of his affairs.—*Swift.* He went to Ireland with King James, and there died neglected and poor.

P. 697. *Burnet.* In all nations the privileges of colleges and universities are esteemed such sacred things, that few will venture to dispute these, much less to disturb them.—*Swift.* Yet in King George's reign, Oxford was bridled and insulted with troops, for no manner of cause but their steadiness to the Church.

P. 699. *Burnet.* It was much observed, that this university [Oxford], that had asserted the King's prerogative in the highest strains of the most abject flattery possible, etc.—*Swift.* And their virtue and steadiness ought equally to be observed.

P. 701. *Burnet,* speaking of King James's proceedings against the universities, and that several of the clergy wrote over to the Prince of Orange to engage in their quarrel, adds :—When that was communicated to me, I was still of opinion, that, though this was indeed an act of despotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it struck at the whole: So that it was not in my opinion a lawful case of resistance.—*Swift.* He was a better *Tory* than I, if he spoke as he thought.

Ibid. Burnet. The main difference between these [the Presbyterians and the Independents] was, that the Presbyterians seemed reconcilable to the Church; *for they loved Episcopal ordination and a liturgy.*—*Swift.* A damnable lie.

P. 702. *Burnet.* [Both Presbyterians and Independents] were enemies to this high prerogative, that the King was assuming, and were very averse to Popery.—*Swift.* Style.

Ibid. Burnet. So the more considerable among them [the Dissenters] resolved not to stand at too great a distance from

the court, nor provoke the King so far, as to give him cause to think they were irreconcilable to him, lest they should provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party.—*Swift.* They all complied most shamefully and publicly, as is well known.

P. 703. *Burnet.* The King's choice of Palmer, Earl of Castlemain, was liable to great exception. — *Swift.* Duchess of Cleveland's husband.

P. 705. *Burnet.* Since what an ambassador says is understood as said by the prince whose character he bears, this gave the States a right to make use of all advantages that might offer themselves.—*Swift.* Sophistry.

P. 710. *Burnet.* The restless spirit of some of that religion [Popery], and of their clergy in particular, shewed they could not be at quiet till they were masters.—*Swift.* All sects are of that spirit.

P. 716. *Burnet,* speaking of "the fury that had been driven on for many years by a Popish party," adds:—When some of those who had been always moderate told these, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as soon as the danger was over, they promised the contrary very solemnly. It shall be told afterwards, how well they remembered this.—*Swift.* False and spiteful.

P. 726. *Burnet.* That which gave the crisis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a considerable fortune at The Hague.—*Swift.* A phrase of the rabble.

Ibid. Burnet, when a prosecution was commenced against Burnet in Scotland, he obtained naturalization for himself in Holland; after which he wrote to the Earl of Middleton, saying that:—being now naturalized in Holland, my allegiance was, during my stay in these parts, transferred from His Majesty to the States.—*Swift.* Civilians deny that, but I agree with him.

P. 727. *Burnet.* I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and *unheard-of* revolution.—*Swift.* The Devil's in that, sure all Europe *heard* of it.

P. 730. *Burnet,* after saying that he had been naturalized in Holland, upon marrying one of the subjects of the States, goes on:—The King took the matter very ill; and said, it was an affront to him, and a just cause of war.—*Swift.* Vain fop.

P. 731. *Burnet.* I never possessed my own soul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulness of spirit, than I did during all those threatenings, and the apprehensions that others were in concerning me.—*Swift.* A modest account of his own magnanimity.

P. 746. *Burnet.* But after all, though soldiers were *bad Englishmen and worse Christians,* yet the court [of James II.]

found them too good Protestants to trust much to them.—*Swift.* Special doctrine.

P. 748. *Burnet*, speaking of the Queen's expectation of a child, says :—I will give as full and as distinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time or afterwards.—*Swift.* All coffee-house chat.

P. 751. *Burnet.* Now a resolution was taken for the Queen's lying in at St. James's.—*Swift.* Windsor would have been more suspicious.

P. 752. *Burnet*, doubting of the legitimacy of the Pretender, and describing the Queen's manner of lying-in, says :—The Queen lay all the while a-bed : And, in order to the warming one side of it, a warming-pan was brought. But it was not opened, that it might be seen that there was fire and nothing else in it. —*Swift.* This, the ladies say, is foolish.

P. 753. *Burnet.* Hemings, a very worthy man, . . . was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and say with a doleful voice, "The Prince of Wales is dead" : Upon which . . . it was plain, they were in a great consternation.—*Swift.* A most foolish story, hardly worthy of a coffee-house.

Ibid. Burnet. It was said, that the child was strangely revived of a sudden. Some of the physicians told Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, that it was not possible for them to think it was the same child. They looked on one another, but durst not speak what they thought.—*Swift.* So here are three children.

P. 762. *Burnet.* The Lord Mordaunt was the first of all the English nobility that came over openly to see the Prince of Orange.—*Swift.* Now Earl of Peterborough.

Ibid. Burnet. The Earl of Shrewsbury . . . seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour.—*Swift.* Quite contrary.

P. 763. *Burnet.* Lord Lumley, who was a late convert from Popery, and had stood out very firmly all this reign.—*Swift.* He was a knave and a coward.

Ibid. Burnet. Mr. Sidney,[1] brother to the Earl of Leicester and to Algernon Sidney. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the court, where he had some adventures that became very public. He was a man of a sweet and caressing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleasure.—*Swift.* An idle, drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, or honour.

P. 764. *Burnet.* But, because he [Mr. Sidney] was lazy, and the business required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recom-

[1] Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney. [T. S.]

mended a kinsman of my own, Johnstoune, whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent.—*Swift.* An arrant Scotch rogue.

P. 764. *Burnet.* The Earl of Nottingham . . . had great credit with the whole Church party: For he was a man possessed with their notions.—*Swift.* That is, Church notions.

P. 765. *Burnet.* Lord Churchill [afterwards Duke of Marlborough] . . . was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the court with no literature: But he had a solid and clear understanding, with a constant presence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a court better than any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. . . . It must be acknowledged, that he is one of the greatest men the age has produced.—*Swift.* A composition of perfidiousness and avarice.

Ibid. Burnet, still speaking of Lord Churchill:—He was also very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he resolved, when the Prince should come over, to go in to him; but to betray no post, nor do anything more than the withdrawing himself, with such officers as he could trust with such a secret.—*Swift.* What could he do more to a mortal enemy.

P. 769. *Burnet.* [Skelton's] rash folly might have procured the order from the court of France, to own this alliance [with England]: He thought it would terrify the States: And so he pressed this officiously, which they easily granted.—*Swift.* And who can blame him, if in such a necessity he made that alliance?

P. 772. *Burnet.* The King of France thought himself tied by no peace: but that, when he suspected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon such a suspicion begin a war on his part.—*Swift.* The common maxim of princes.

P. 776. *Burnet,* speaking of the Declaration prepared for Scotland, says that the:—Presbyterians, had drawn it so, that, by many passages in it, the Prince by an implication declared in favour of Presbytery. He did not see what the consequences of those were, till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the Declaration that matter was still entire.—*Swift.* The more shame for King William, who changed it.

P. 782. *Burnet,* three days before the Prince of Orange embarked, he visited the States General, and:—took God to witness, he went to England with no other intentions, but those he had set out in his Declaration.—*Swift.* Then he was perjured; for he designed to get the crown, which he denied in the Declaration.

P. 783. *Burnet,* after describing the storm which put back the Prince of Orange's fleet, observes:—In France and England . . . they triumphed not a little, as if God had fought against us, and

defeated the whole design. We on our part, who found our selves delivered out of so great a storm and so vast a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care of us, Who, . . . had preserved us.—*Swift.* Then still it must be a *miracle.*

P. 785. *Burnet,* when matters were coming to a crisis at the Revolution, an order was :—sent to the Bishop of Winchester, to put the President of Magdalen College again in possession. . . . [But when the court heard] the Prince and his fleet were blown back, it was countermanded ; which plainly shewed what it was that drove the court into so much compliance, and how long it was like to last.—*Swift.* The Bishop of Winchester assured me otherwise.

Ibid. Burnet. The court thought it necessary, now in an *after-game,* to offer some satisfaction in that point [of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales].—*Swift.* And this was the proper time.

P. 786. *Burnet.* Princess Anne was not present [at the Queen's delivery]. She indeed excused herself. She thought she was breeding : And all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reason. . . . So it was looked on as a colour that shewed she did not believe the thing, and that therefore she would not by her being present seem to give any credit to it.—*Swift.* I have reason to believe this to be true of the Princess Anne.

P. 790. *Burnet.* [The Prince of Orange's army] stayed a week at Exeter, before any of the gentlemen of the country about came in to the Prince. Every day some person of condition came from other parts. The first were the Lord Colchester the eldest son of the Earl of Rivers, and the Lord Wharton.—*Swift.* Famous for his cowardice in the rebellion of 1642.

P. 791. *Burnet.* Soon after that, Prince George, the Duke of Ormonde, and the Lord Drumlanrig, the Duke of Queensberry's eldest son, left him [King James], and came over to the Prince.—*Swift.* Yet how has he been since used ? [referring to the Duke of Ormonde.]

P. 792. *Burnet.* In a little while a small army was formed about her [Princess Anne], who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London ; of which he too easily accepted.—*Swift.* And why should he not ?

Ibid. Burnet. A foolish ballad was made at that time, treating the Papists, and chiefly the Irish, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, said to be Irish words, " Lero, Lero, Lilibulero," that made an impression on the army, that cannot be well imagined by those who saw it not.—*Swift.* They are not Irish words, but better than Scotch.

P. 795. *Burnet.* The Queen took up a sudden resolution of going to France with the child. The midwife, together with all who were assisting at the birth, were also carried over, or so

disposed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards.—*Swift.* That is strange and incredible.

P. 796. *Burnet,* speaking of King James's first attempt to leave the kingdom, says :—With this his reign ended : For this was a plain deserting his people, and the exposing the nation to the pillage of an army, which he had ordered the Earl of Feversham to disband.—*Swift.* Abominable assertion, and false consequence.

P. 797. *Burnet,* the incident of the King's being retaken at Feversham, and the subsequent strugglings, gave rise to the party of Jacobites :—For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left : All would have agreed, that here was a desertion, and that therefore the nation was free, and at liberty to secure itself. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to say, that he was forced away, and driven out.—*Swift.* So he certainly was, both now and afterwards.

Ibid. Burnet. None were killed, no houses burnt, nor were any robberies committed.—*Swift.* Don Pedro de Ronquillo's house was plundered and pulled down ; he was Spanish ambassador.

Ibid. Burnet. Jeffreys, finding the King was gone, saw what reason he had to look to himself : And, apprehending that he was now exposed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with so particular a brutality, he had disguised himself to make his escape. But he fell into the hands of some who knew him. He was insulted by them with as much scorn and rudeness as they could invent. And, after many hours tossing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor ; whom they charged to commit him to the Tower.—*Swift.* He soon after died in the Tower by drinking strong liquors.

P. 798. *Burnet,* when the Prince heard of King James's flight :—he sent to Oxford, to excuse his not coming thither, and to offer the association to them, which was signed by almost all the heads, and the chief men of the University ; even by those, who, being disappointed in the preferments they aspired to, became afterwards his most implacable enemies.—*Swift.* Malice.

P. 799. *Burnet,* when I heard of King James's flight and capture :—I was affected with this dismal reverse of the fortune of a great prince, more than I think fit to express.—*Swift.* Or than I will believe.

P. 800. *Burnet,* after relating that King James "sent the Earl of Feversham to Windsor, without demanding any passport," describes his reception, and adds :—Since the Earl of Feversham, who had commanded the army against the Prince, was come without a passport, he was for some days put in arrest.—*Swift.* Base and villainous.

P. 801. *Burnet*, when it was thought prudent for King James to leave London, the Earl of Middleton suggested that he :—should go to Rochester ; for "since the Prince was not pleased with his coming up from Kent, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he should go thither again." It was very visible, that this was proposed in order to a second escape.—*Swift.* And why not?

P. 802. *Burnet.* Some said, he [James] was now a prisoner, and remembered the saying of King Charles the First, that the prisons and the graves of princes lay not far distant from one another : The person of the King was now struck at, as well as his government : And this specious undertaking would now appear to be only a disguised and designed usurpation.—*Swift.* All this is certainly true.

P. 803. *Burnet.* Now that the Prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. . . . Old Serjeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and said, "that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time :" He answered, "He had like to have outlived the law itself, if his Highness had not come over."—*Swift.* He was an old rogue for all that.

P. 805. *Burnet*, speaking of the first effects of the Revolution upon the Presbyterians in Scotland, says :—They generally broke in upon the Episcopal clergy with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession : They tore their gowns, and drove them from their churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zealously against Popery, with any distinction.—*Swift.* To reward them for which, King William abolished Episcopacy.

Ibid. Burnet. The Episcopal party in Scotland saw themselves under a great cloud : So they resolved all to adhere to the Earl of Dundee, who had served some years in Holland, and was both an able officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable virtues.—*Swift.* He was the best man in Scotland.

P. 806. *Burnet*, speaking of Londonderry and Inniskilling, says :—Those two small unfurnished and unfortified places, resolved to stand to their own defence, and at all perils to stay till supplies should come to them from England.—*Swift.* He should have mentioned Doctor Walker, who defended Derry.

P. 807. *Burnet.* Those, who were employed by Tyrconnell to deceive the Prince, made their applications by Sir William Temple, who had a long and well established credit with him. —*Swift.* A lie of a Scot ; for Sir William Temple did not know Tyrconnell.

P. 807. *Burnet.* Others thought, that the leaving Ireland in that dangerous state, might be a mean to bring the convention to a more speedy settlement of England; and that therefore the Prince ought not to make too much haste to relieve Ireland.—*Swift.* That is agreed to be the true reason, and it was a wicked one.

P. 810. *Burnet*, speaking of Archbishop Sancroft, says:—He was a poor spirited, and fearful man; and acted a very mean part in all this great transaction.—*Swift.* Others think very differently.

P. 811. *Burnet*, speaking of the proposal to establish a regency, says:—The much greater part of the House of Lords was for this, and stuck long to it: And so was about a third part of the House of Commons. The greatest part of the clergy declared themselves for it.—*Swift.* And it was certainly much the best expedient.

Ibid. Burnet. The third party was made up of those, who thought that there was an original contract between the King and the people of England; by which the kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and serve the king.—*Swift.* I am of this party, and yet I would have been for a regency.

P. 813. *Burnet*, it was argued that this scheme of a regency was:—both more illegal, and more unsafe, than the method they proposed. The law of England had settled the point of the subject's security in obeying the king in possession, in the statute made by Henry the Seventh. So every man knew he was safe under a king, and so would act with zeal and courage. But all such as should act under a *prince-regent*, created by this convention, were upon a bottom that had not the necessary forms of law for it.—*Swift.* There is something in this argument.

P. 814. *Burnet.* It was believed, that those of his [King James's] party, who were looked on as men of conscience, had secret orders from him to act upon this pretence; since otherwise they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles.—*Swift.* This is malice.

Ibid. Burnet. [Others thought] that in our present circumstances the extremity of affairs, by reason of the late ill government, and by King James's flying over to the enemy of the nation, rather than submit to reasonable terms, had put the people of England on the necessity of securing themselves upon a legal bottom.—*Swift.* This was the best reason.

P. 815. *Burnet.* There were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a person did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was said to abdicate. But this was a critical dispute: And it scarce became the greatness

of that assembly, or the importance of the matter.—*Swift.* It was a very material point.

P. 815. *Burnet.* It was urged, that, by the law, the king did never die; but that with the last breath of the dying king the regal authority went to the next heir.—*Swift.* This is certainly true.

P. 816. *Burnet.* An heir was one that came in the room of a person that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man.—*Swift.* This is sophistry.

Ibid. Burnet. It was proposed, that the birth of the pretended prince might be examined into. . . . I was ordered to gather together all the presumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned: . . . It is true, these did not amount to a full and legal proof: Yet they seemed to be such violent presumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence: For that was liable to the suspicion of subornation: Whereas the other seemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty.—*Swift.* Well said, Bishop.

P. 817. *Burnet.* If there was no clear and positive proof made of an imposture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the possibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing, than it then had, and, instead of weakening it, would strengthen the pretension of his birth.—*Swift.* Wisely done.

Ibid. Burnet. [Some people] thought, it would be a good security for the nation, to have a dormant title to the crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a Pretender still in their eye.—*Swift.* I think this was no ill design; yet it hath not succeeded in mending kings.

Ibid. Burnet. I have used more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter [the birth of the Pretender].—*Swift.* And where are they?

P. 818. *Burnet,* after relating a long conversation with Bentinck [afterwards Earl of Portland], adds:—Next morning I came to him, and desired my *congé.* I would oppose nothing in which the Prince seemed to be concerned, as long as I was his servant. And therefore I desired to be disengaged, that I might be free to oppose this proposition [to offer him the crown] with all the strength and credit I had. He answered me, that I might desire that when I saw a step made: But till then he wished me to stay where I was.—*Swift.* Is all this true?

P. 819. *Burnet.* I heard no more of this; in which the Marquess of Halifax was single among the peers: For I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unless it was the Lord

Colepeper, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the House of Lords, and died about the end of them.—*Swift.* Yet was not the same thing done in effect, while the King had the sole administration?

P. 819. *Burnet.* The Princess continued all the while in Holland, being shut in there during the east winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary winds after the thaw came. So that she came not to England till all the debates were over.—*Swift.* Why was she [not] sent for till the matter was agreed? This clearly shews the Prince's original design was to be king, against what he professed in his Declaration.

P. 820. *Burnet.* [The Prince of Orange] said, he came over, being invited, to save the nation: He had now brought together a free and true representative of the kingdom: He left it therefore to them to do what they thought best for the good of the kingdom: And, when things were once settled, he should be well satisfied to go back to Holland again.—*Swift.* Did he tell truth?

Ibid. Burnet. He thought it necessary to tell them, that he would not be the Regent: So, if they continued in that design, they must look out for some other person to be put in that post.—*Swift.* Was not this a plain confession of what he came for?

P. 821. *Burnet.* In the end he said, that he could not resolve to accept of a dignity, so as to hold it only the life of another: Yet he thought, that the issue of Princess Anne should be preferred, in the succession, to any issue that he might have by any other wife than the Princess.—*Swift.* A great concession truly.

P. 822. *Burnet.* The poor Bishop of Durham [Lord Crewe], who had absconded for some time, . . . was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new settlement to merit at least a pardon for all that he had done: Which, all things considered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the rest of his life and character.—*Swift.* This is too hard, though almost true.

Ibid. Burnet. Then the power of the Crown to grant a *non-obstante* to some statutes was objected.—*Swift.* Yet the words continue in patents.

P. 824. *Burnet.* A notion was started, which . . . was laid thus: "The Prince had a just cause of making war on the King." In that most of them agreed. In a just war, in which an appeal is made to God, success is considered as the decision of Heaven. So the Prince's success against King James gave him the right of conquest over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince.—*Swift.* The author wrote a paper to prove

this, and it was burnt by the hangman, and is a very foolish scheme.[1]

Book VII.

P. 525 (second volume). *Burnet*, speaking of the Act for the General Naturalization of Protestants, and the opposition made against it by the High Church, adds:—This was carried in the House of Commons, with a great majority; but all those, who appeared for this large and comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the Church: And in that I had a large share.—*Swift.* Dog.

P. 526. *Burnet.* The faction here in England found out proper instruments, to set the same humour on foot [in Ireland], during the Earl of Rochester's government, and, as was said, by his directions: . . . So the clergy were making the same bold claim there, that had raised such disputes among us.—*Swift.* Dog, dog, dog.

P. 580. *Burnet*, speaking of the interruption in the negotiations for a peace consequent on the Earl of Jersey's death, adds:—*One Prior*, who had been Jersey's secretary, upon his death, was employed to prosecute that, which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy, out of a tavern, by the Earl of Dorset, who accidentally found him reading Horace; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature. —*Swift.* Malice.

P. 581. *Burnet.* Many mercenary pens were set on work, to justify our proceedings, and to defame our allies, more particularly the Dutch; this was done with much art, but *with no regard to truth*, in a pamphlet entitled "The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry."—*Swift. It was all true.*

Ibid. Burnet. The Jacobites did, with the greater joy entertain this prospect of peace, because the Dauphin had, in a visit to St. Germains, congratulated that court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender's affairs.—*Swift.* The Queen hated and despised the Pretender, to my knowledge.

P. 583. *Burnet*, in a conference I had with the Queen on the subject of peace:—she hoped bishops would not be against peace: I said, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but . . . any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left to King Philip, must in a little while deliver up all Europe into

[1] "A Pastoral Letter writ by . . . Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the clergy of his Diocess" [dated May 15th, 1689] was condemned by the House of Commons on Jan. 23rd, 169$\frac{2}{3}$, and ordered to "be burnt by the hand of the common hangman." [T. S.]

the hands of France; and, if any such peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in less than three years' time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in Smithfield.—*Swift.* A false prophet in every particular.

P. 589. *Burnet,* the Queen having sent a message to the Lords to adjourn, it was debated:—that the Queen could not send a message to any one House to adjourn, when the like message was not sent to both Houses: the pleasure of the Prince, in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both Houses; but never to any one House, without the same intimation was made, at the same time, to the other.—*Swift.* Modern nonsense.

P. 591. *Burnet.* The House of Commons, after the recess, entered on the observations of the commissioners for taking the public accounts; and began with [Sir Robert] Walpole, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the House.—*Swift.* He began early, and has been thriving *twenty-seven years,* to January 1739.

P. 609. *Burnet.* A new set of addresses ran about. . . . Some of these addresses mentioned the Protestant succession, and the House of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and some made no mention at all of it. And it was universally believed, that no addresses were so acceptable to the ministers, as those of *the last sort.*—*Swift.* Foolish and factious.

P. 610. *Burnet.* The Duke of Ormonde had given the States such assurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the secrets of all their counsels, which by that confidence were all known to the French: And, if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the States to come into the new measures.—*Swift.* Vile Scot, dare to touch Ormonde's honour, and so falsely.

P. 612. *Burnet,* the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun were engaged in litigation; and:—upon a very high provocation, the Lord Mohun sent him [the Duke] a challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried, by those false points of honour, they fatally went out to Hyde Park, in the middle of November, and fought with so violent an animosity, that neglecting the rules of art, they seemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both so unhappily successful, that the Lord Mohun was killed outright, and Duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after.[1]—*Swift.* Wrongly told.

[1] A footnote to the 1833 edition of Burnet says that "the duke in the belief of some was killed by General Macartney, the Lord Mohun's

P. 614. *Burnet* says of the Earl of Godolphin :—After having been thirty years in the Treasury, and during nine of those Lord Treasurer, as he was never once suspected of corruption, or of suffering his servants to grow rich under him, so in all that time his estate was not increased by him to the value of £4,000. *Swift.* A great lie.

THE CONCLUSION.

P. 669. *Burnet*, speaking of the progress of his own life, says :—The pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate.—*Swift.* Not so soon with the wine of some elections.

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, BY THOMAS BURNET, ESQ.

Opposite to the title-page :—*Swift.* A rude violent party jackanapes.

In the Life, p. 719, is printed a letter from Archbishop Tillotson, dated October 23, 1764 [*sic*, the volume was printed in 1734, the date should be 1694], in which he says : "The account given of Athanasius's Creed, seems to me no-wise satisfactory ; I wish we were well rid of it."—*Swift* has drawn a finger in the margin of his copy of Burnet's History pointing to this passage.

P. 722. *Thomas Burnet.* The character I have given his wives, will scarce make it an addition to his, that he was a most affectionate husband. His tender care of the *first*, during a course of sickness, that lasted for many years ; and *his fond love to the other two*, and the deep concern he expressed for their loss, were no more than their just due, from one of his humanity, gratitude and discernment.—*Swift.* Three wives.

P. 723. *Thomas Burnet.* The bishop was a kind and bountiful master to his servants, whom he never changed, but with regret and through necessity : Friendly and obliging to all in employment under him, and peculiarly happy in the choice of them ; especially in that of the steward to the bishopric and his courts, William Wastefield, Esq. (a gentleman of a plentiful fortune, at the time of his accepting this post) and in that of his domestic steward, Mr. *Mackney.*—*Swift.* A Scot, his own countryman.

second." See also Chesterfield's letter quoted in Introduction, and Swift's own version in the "Four Last Years," p. 178. [T. S.]

NOTES

ON

THE FREE-HOLDER.

NOTE.

"THE FREE-HOLDER" was a political periodical written in the form of essays. It continued for fifty-five numbers from Friday, December 23rd, 1715, to Friday, June 29th, 1716. Its purpose was to reconcile the English nation to the Hanoverian succession. "These papers," notes Scott, "while they exhibit the exquisite humour and solid sense peculiar to the author, show also, even amid the strength of party, that philanthropy and gentleness of nature, which were equally his distinguishing attributes. None of these qualities would have conciliated his great opponent, Swift, had the field of combat yet remained open to him. But as he withdrew from it in sullen indignation, he seems to have thrown out the following flashes of satire, as brief examples of what he would have done had the hour of answer been yet current."

Scott obtained these "notes" from a transcription of the original in Swift's own hand, in a copy of "The Free-holder" which belonged to Dr. Bernard, Bishop of Limerick. The present text is a reprint of Scott's; but the text of "The Free-holder" has been read with the octavo and duodecimo editions of that periodical issued by Midwinter in 1716. The titles to the essays were not given in the original issue, except that to No. 9. They were added as a "Contents" to the re-issue in volume form.

[T. S.]

NOTES ON THE FREE-HOLDER.[1]

No. 2. *Dec.* 26, 1715.—*Of His Majesty's Character.*

Addison.

IT was by this [this firmness of mind] that he surmounted those many difficulties which lay in the way to his succession.—*Swift.* What difficulties were those, or what methods did he take to surmount them?

Addison. It is observed by Sir William Temple, that the English are particularly fond of a king who is valiant: Upon which account His Majesty has a title to all the esteem that can be paid the most warlike prince; though at the same time, for the good of his subjects, he studies to decline all occasions of military glory.—*Swift.* This seems to be a discovery.

Addison. I might here take notice of His Majesty's more private virtues, but have rather chosen to remind my countrymen of the public parts of his character.—*Swift.* This is prudent.

Addison. But the most remarkable interpositions of Providence, in favour of him, have appeared in removing those seemingly invincible obstacles to his succession; in taking away, at so critical a juncture, the person who might have proved a dangerous enemy; etc.—*Swift.* False, groundless, invidious, and ungrateful. Was that person the Queen?

No. 3. *Dec.* 30, 1715.—*The Memoirs of a Preston Rebel.*

[*A Ludicrous Account of the Principles of the Northumberland Insurgents, and the Causes of their taking Arms.*]—*Swift.* Could this author, or his party, offer as good reasons for their infamous treatment of our blessed Queen's person, government, and majesty?

The same. *Addison.* Having been joined by a considerable reinforcement of Roman Catholics, whom we could rely upon,

[1] "The Free-holder," conducted by Addison, was published on Mondays and Fridays from December 23rd, 1715, till June 29th, 1716; fifty-five numbers were issued altogether. [T. S.]

as knowing them to be the best Tories in the nation, and avowed enemies to Presbyterianism.—*Swift.* By this irony, the best Whigs are professed friends to fanatics.

The same. *Addison.* But before we could give the word [to retreat], the trainbands, taking advantage of our delay, fled first.—*Swift.* An argument for a standing army.

No. 6. *Jan.* 9, 1715-16.—*The Guilt of Perjury.*

Addison. Though I should be unwilling to pronounce the man who is indolent, or indifferent in the cause of his prince, to be absolutely perjured; I may venture to affirm, that he falls very short of that allegiance to which he is obliged by oath.—*Swift.* Suppose a king grows a beast, or a tyrant, after I have taken an oath: a 'prentice takes an oath; but if his master useth him barbarously, the lad may be excused if he wishes for a better.

No. 7. *Jan.* 13, 1715-16.—*Of Party Lies.*

Addison. If we may credit common report, there are several remote parts of the nation in which it is firmly believed, that all the churches in London are shut up; and that if any clergyman walks the streets in his habit, 'tis ten to one but he is knocked down by some sturdy schismatic.—*Swift.* No—but treated like a dog.

No. 8. *Jan.* 16, 1715-16.—*The Female Association.*

Addison. It is therefore to be hoped that every fine woman will make this laudable use of her charms; and that she may not want to be frequently reminded of this great duty, I will only desire her to think of her country every time she looks in her glass.—*Swift.* By no means, for if she loves her country, she will not be pleased with the sight.

Addison. Every wife ought to answer for her man. If the husband be engaged in a seditious club or drinks mysterious healths . . . let her look to him, and keep him out of harm's way; etc.—*Swift.* Will they hang a man for that.

No. 9. *Jan.* 20, 1715-16.—*Answer of the Free-holders of Great Britain to the Pretender's Declaration.*

The Declaration of the Free-holders of Great Britain, in Answer to that of the Pretender.—Addison. Can you in conscience think us to be such fools as to rebel against the King, for . . . having removed a general [the Duke of Ormonde] who is now actually in arms against him, etc.—*Swift.* Driven out by tyranny, malice, and faction.

Addison. The next grievance, which you have a mighty mind to redress among us, is the Parliament of Great Britain, against whom you bring a stale accusation which has been used by every minority in the memory of man; namely, that it was procured by unwarrantable influences and corruptions.—*Swift.* The freeholders will never sign this paragraph.

Addison. How comes it to pass that the Electorate of Hanover is become all of a sudden one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire?—*Swift.* It is indeed grown considerable by draining of England.

No. 12. *Jan.* 30, 1715-16.—*The Guilt of Rebellion in general, and of the late Rebellion in particular.*

Addison. The present rebellion [1715] is formed against a king, . . . who has not been charged with one illegal proceeding.—*Swift.* Are you serious?

No. 13. *Feb.* 3, 1715-16.—*Of those who are* indifferent *in a time of Rebellion.*

Addison. In such a juncture [a rebellion], though a man may be innocent of the great breach which is made upon government, he is highly culpable, if he does not use all the means that are suitable to his station for reducing the community into its former state of peace and good order.—*Swift.* He speaks at his ease, but those who are ill used will be apt to apply what the boy said to his mother, who told him the enemy was approaching.

Addison. This law [one of Solon's] made it necessary for every citizen to take his party, because it was highly probable the majority would be so wise as to espouse that cause which was most agreeable to the public weal.—*Swift.* No—for, in England, a faction that governs a weak, or honours a wicked prince, will carry all against a majority in the kingdom, as we have seen by sad experience.

No. 14. *Feb.* 6, 1715-16.—*The Political Creed of a Tory Malcontent.*

Addison. Article XIII. That there is an unwarrantable faction in this island, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons.—*Swift.* This article is too true, with a little alteration.

The same. *Addison.* Article XV. That an Act of Parliament to empower the King to secure suspected persons in times of rebellion, is the means to establish the sovereign on the throne, and consequently a great infringement of the liberties of the subject.—*Swift.* No—but to destroy liberty.

No. 21. *Mar.* 2, 1715-16.—*The Birthday of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.*

Addison. When this excellent princess was yet in her father's court, she was so celebrated for the beauty of her person, etc. —*Swift.* I have bad eyes.

Addison. There is no part of her Royal Highness's character which we observe with greater pleasure, than that behaviour by which she has so much endeared herself to His Majesty.—*Swift.* What would he say now?[1]

No. 24. *Mar.* 12, 1715-16.—*The Designs of His Majesty's Enemies impracticable.*

Addison. To this we may add . . . that submissive deference of his Royal Highness both from duty and inclination to all the measures of his Royal father.—*Swift.* Which still continues.

Addison. There is no question but His Majesty will be as generally valued and beloved in his British as he is in his German dominions, when he shall have time to make his royal virtues equally known among us.—*Swift.* How long time does he require?

No. 26. *Mar.* 19, 1715-16.—*Considerations offered to the disaffected part of the Fair Sex.*

Addison. Several inconveniencies which those among them undergo, who have not yet surrendered to the government. —*Swift.* Would he pimp for the court?

No. 29. *Mar.* 30, 1716.—*The Practice of Morality necessary to make a Party flourish.*

Addison. Those of our fellow-subjects, who are sensible of the happiness they enjoy in His Majesty's accession to the throne, are obliged, by all the duties of gratitude, to adore that Providence which has so signally interposed in our behalf, by clearing a way to the Protestant succession through such difficulties as seemed insuperable.—*Swift.* I wish he had told us any one of those difficulties.

Addison. It is the duty of an honest and prudent man, to sacrifice a doubtful opinion to the concurring judgement of those whom he believes to be well intentioned to their country, and who have better opportunities of looking into all its most complicated interests.—*Swift.* A motion to make men go every

[1] The prince and his father, George I., were now [1727, just before George I. died] at variance. [S.]

length with their party. I am sorry to see such a principle in this author.

No. 31. *Apr.* 6, 1716.—*Answer to a celebrated Pamphlet, entitled "An Argument to prove the Affections of the People of England to be the best Security of the Government; etc."*

Addison. This middle method [of tempering justice with mercy] . . . has hitherto been made use of by our sovereign.—*Swift.* In trifles.

Addison. Would it be possible for him [the reader] to imagine, that of the several thousands openly taken in arms, and liable to death by the laws of their country, not above forty have yet suffered?—*Swift.* A trifle!

Addison. Has not His Majesty then shewn the least appearance of grace in that generous forgiveness which he has already extended to such great numbers of his rebellious subjects, who must have died by the laws of their country, had not his mercy interposed in their behalf?—*Swift.* Prodigious clemency, not to hang all the common soldiers who followed their leaders!

Addison. Those who are pardoned would not have known the value of grace, if none had felt the effects of justice.—*Swift.* And only hanging the lords and gentlemen, and some of the rabble.

Addison. Their [the last ministry's] friends have ever since made use of the most base methods to infuse those groundless discontents into the minds of the common people, etc.—*Swift.* Hath experience shown those discontents groundless?

Addison. If the removal of these persons from their posts has produced such popular commotions, the continuance of them might have produced something much more fatal to their king and country.—*Swift.* Very false reasoning.

Addison. No man would make such a parallel, [between the treatment of the rebels, and that of the Catalans under King Philip,] unless his mind be so blinded with passion and prejudice, as to assert, in the language of this pamphlet, "That no instances can be produced of the least lenity under the present administration from the first hour it commenced to this day."—*Swift.* Nor to this, 1727.

Addison. God be thanked we have a king who punishes with reluctancy.—*Swift.* A great comfort to the sufferers!

Addison. It would be well if all those who . . . are clamorous at the proceedings of His present Majesty, would remember, that notwithstanding that rebellion [the Duke of Monmouth's] . . . had no tendency . . . to destroy the national religion, etc. —*Swift.* To introduce fanaticism, and destroy monarchy.

Addison. No prince has ever given a greater instance of his

inclinations to rule without a standing army.—*Swift.* We find this true by experience.

Addison. What greater instances could His Majesty have given of his love to the Church of England, than those he has exhibited by his most solemn declarations; by his daily example; and by his promotions of the most eminent among the clergy to such vacancies as have happened in his reign.—*Swift.* Most undeniable truth, as any in Rabelais.

No. 44. *May* 21, 1716.—*Tory Foxhunter's Account of the Masquerade on the Birth of the Arch-Duke.*

Addison. What still gave him greater offence was a drunken bishop, who reeled from one side of the court to the other, and was very sweet upon an Indian Queen.—*Swift.* Then, that story is true?

No. 45. *May* 25, 1716.—*The Use and Advantage of Wit and Humour under proper Regulations.*

Addison. I have lately read with much pleasure, the "Essays upon several Subjects" published by Sir Richard Blackmore.—*Swift.* I admire to see such praises from this author to so insipid a scoundrel, whom I know he despised.

No. 51. *June* 15, 1716.—*Cautions to be observed in the reading of ancient Greek and Roman Historians.*

Addison. "History of Free-thinking."—*Swift.* Writ by Collins.

Addison. The greatest theorists . . . among those very people [the Greeks and Romans,] have given the preference to such a form of government, as that which obtains in this kingdom.—*Swift.* Yet, this we see is liable to be wholly corrupted.

No. 52. *June* 18, 1716.—*Of State Jealousy.*

Addison. It is plain, . . . that such a base ungenerous race of men could rely upon nothing for their safety in this affront to His Majesty, [wearing a mark on the Pretender's birth-day,] but the known gentleness and lenity of his government.—*Swift.* Then the devil was in them.

No. 54. *June* 25, 1716.—*Preference of the Whig Scheme to that of the Tories.*

Addison. The Whigs tell us . . . that the Tory scheme would terminate in Popery and arbitrary government.—*Swift.* But Tories never writ or spoke so gently and favourably of

Popery, as Whigs do of Presbytery. Witness a thousand pamphlets on both sides.

Addison. I shall not impute to any Tory scheme the administration of King James the Second, on condition that they do not reproach the Whigs with the usurpation of Oliver.—*Swift.* I will not accept that condition, nor did I ever see so unfair a one offered.

No. 55. *June* 29, 1716.—*Conclusion.*

Addison. The enemies of His present Majesty . . . find him in a condition to visit his dominions in Germany, without any danger to himself, or to the public ; whilst his dutiful subjects would be in no ordinary concern upon this occasion, had they not the consolation to find themselves left under the protection of a prince who makes it his ambition to copy out his Royal Father's example.—*Swift.* Then, why was he never trusted a second time?

Addison. It would indeed have been an unpardonable insolence for a fellow-subject to treat in a vindictive and cruel style, those persons whom His Majesty has endeavoured to reduce to obedience by gentle methods, which he has declared from the throne to be most agreeable to his inclinations.—*Swift.* And is that enough?

Addison. May we not hope that all of this kind, who have the least sentiments of honour or gratitude, will be won over to their duty by so many instances of Royal clemency?—*Swift.* Not one instance produced.

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